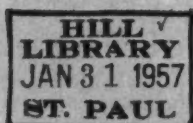


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NATIONAL PROBATION AND PAROLE ASSOCIATION

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NATIONAL PROBATION AND PAROLE ASSOCIATION



Journal

VOLUME 3

NUMBER 1

The Female Offender

January 1957

WALTER C. RECKLESS: Female Criminality

MAZIE F. RAPPAPORT: The Psychology of the Female Offender

GENEVIEVE C. O'CONNELL: Casework with the Female Probationer

HENRIETTA ADDITON: Institutional Treatment of Women Offenders

MARGARET A. TEACHOUT: Problems of Women Parolees

JEAN SELVIDGE: The Police Juvenile Bureau's Job

WILLIAM W. WATTENBERG: Girl Repeaters

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DOROTHY BERRY: Salvation Army Aftercare Services

GRACE STUART NUTLEY: The Friendly Visitors Service Program

MOLLIE SALKOVER: Rehabilitating the Alcoholic Woman

LEO H. BERMAN, M.D.: Concepts of Normal and Delinquent Behavior

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The National Probation and Parole Association JOURNAL is a professional forum for the expression and discussion of all competent points of view in the field of prevention and correction of crime and delinquency. However, the Association does not necessarily endorse the views set forth in signed contributions.

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NATIONAL PROBATION AND PAROLE ASSOCIATION

Journal

Volume 3

January 1957

Number 1

Female Criminality

WALTER C. RECKLESS

School of Social Administration, Ohio State University

THE total picture of crime involvement for any category of person, whether male, female, young, old, white, colored, married, single, upper class, lower class, is revealed by the role of the victim of the criminal aggression, the role of the instigator, the role of the companion (or companions) in the deed, and the role of the doer. The companion role is really part of the doer's act. The doer's behavior and the instigator's contribution together represent the output of crime involvement for any aggregate of persons, while the victim's role is the input of involvement.

Total Crime Involvement

The total crime involvement of any group does not imply that the same individuals are victims, instigators, and doers. Most crime is object- or other-centered; the chances are very much against any individual's being victim and doer combined (except in suicide, drug addiction, alcoholism,

and starvation, all of which have an element of self-destruction). In some instances, the victim plays his or her role in such a way as to instigate the doer; usually, however, the instigator and the victim are separate individuals just as the victim and the doer are.

Except for some fugitive observations about certain categories of individuals who, more than other categories, seem to be victimized by doers and instigators, very little is known about victim proneness.¹ And very little is known about the instigator of criminal activity as distinct from the doer. Most of our knowledge in the study of criminology concerns the doer, because the criminal and penal law has been almost exclusively doer-centered.

¹ See Hans von Hentig, *The Criminal and His Victim*, New Haven, Yale University Press, 1948; B. Mendelsohn, "The Victimology," *Études Internationales de Psychosociologie Criminelle*, Paris, July-September, 1956, pp. 4-36.

The differences in degree and kind between the female as victim and instigator and the male as victim and instigator undoubtedly could, if thoroughly known, be explained by the social role played in any society by females and males, as determined by their constitutional differences, psychological differences (as separate from the impact of culture patterns), and their social position. Certainly the differences in number and kind of female and male doers (including the presence or absence of companions) can largely be accounted for by the respective roles which men and women play in society as a result of their biology, psychology, and social position.

Before we leave the victim-instigator-doer contribution to total crime involvement, we should realize that in spite of category lines being crossed over in many instances, we do not know whether males or females actually cross lines the more in their focus on victims or in their instigator's focus. And before we leave the question of instigation, one might hazard the guess that the female, by virtue of her role and status in a male-dominated society, is probably much more of an instigator than the male (while the male is much more a doer than the female). The female in our society must assume the less overt role, the less acting-out part. She must operate more subtly and less directly; otherwise, she becomes known as brazen, bold, forward, masculine. She must work through others. She must connive in order to get her wishes satisfied and to achieve her goals.

The Woman as Criminal Doer

The woman is officially many times less the doer in crime than the man, although as we shall see later she is

actually more of a doer in crime than the official reports indicate. The ratio of male to female arrests, as reported from 1,477 cities of the United States in 1955 to the Federal Bureau of Investigation, was 8 to 1.² This great differential in the sex ratio of arrests is usually explained by such factors as less willingness to report and arrest women; greater confinement of women to the home, with less latitude of movement and activity; greater passivity of women (less aggressiveness); etc. These factors reflect the social roles of women in, and the attitude toward women of, a male-dominated society.

On the other hand, the male-female ratio of prisoners received from courts into federal and state prisons and reformatories in 1955 was 18 to 1.³ Here we have the factor of actually exempting, in one way or another, the female very much more than the male from the full impact of criminal justice—namely, an executed sentence. The sex ratio of misdemeanor prisoners received from courts into short-sentence institutions, such as jails and workhouses, is generally similar to that for the admissions of felony prisoners into prisons and reformatories.

Our society is disproportionately soft on the female offender after she gets caught and throughout the whole legal process. Here again this represents a male-dominated society's showing deference to the symbol of woman, which in turn is a representation of social role and status. Examination of the sex ratios for the various types of police charges in 1955 indicate quite

² *Uniform Crime Reports*, Washington, D. C., Federal Bureau of Investigation, Vol. XXVI, No. 2, 1955, p. 116.

³ "Prisoners in State and Federal Institutions, 1955, *National Prisoner Statistics*, Washington, D. C., U. S. Bureau of Prisons, No. 15, July, 1956, Table 5.

clearly to very much. Remember to 1 female arrests, in the for charges⁴ 1 ratio a ably less

Rape (by crime).
Burglary-ing...
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⁴ *Unif Computa*

clearly that, as a doer, the woman is very much different from the man. Remembering that a ratio of 8 males to 1 female is the norm for the 1955 arrests, we notice that there are ratios in the following table for certain police charges⁴ which greatly exceed the 8 to 1 ratio and others which are considerably less than 8 to 1.

Offense charged	Sex ratio
Rape (by law exclusively a male crime).....	N to 0
Burglary—breaking and entering.....	43 to 1
Auto theft.....	38 to 1
Driving while intoxicated.....	23 to 1
Robbery.....	23 to 1
Weapons; carrying, concealing, etc.....	16 to 1
Drunkenness.....	12 to 1
Manslaughter by negligence.....	10 to 1
Stolen property; buying, receiving, etc.....	10 to 1
Gambling.....	9 to 1
Offenses against family and children.....	9 to 1
Vagrancy.....	8 to 1
Larceny—thrift.....	6 to 1
Forgery and counterfeiting.....	6 to 1
Disorderly conduct.....	5 to 1
Narcotic drug laws violation.....	5 to 1
Aggravated assault.....	5 to 1
Embezzlement and fraud.....	5 to 1
Murder and nonnegligent manslaughter.....	5 to 1
Liquor laws violation.....	4 to 1
Other sex offenses.....	3 to 1
Prostitution and commercialized vice.....	.45 to 1

While the sex ratios of offenses fluctuate from year to year, the reported arrests for burglary, auto theft, and robbery are consistently several times higher for males than for females in the United States. These are outstandingly male offenses. Those which have sex ratios under the normal 8 to 1 may be considered offenses in which females

seem to be able to participate more than expected. Prostitution is generally the lowest in male-to-female ratio because women, much more than men, are held accountable by law and police action for this offense. Other sex offenses, liquor law violations, murder, narcotic violations, and disorderly conduct are markedly below the 8 to 1 ratio. They do not require the skill and daring of such typically male offenses as burglary, auto theft, and robbery.

Although the information is not recorded in police arrests, in admissions to prisons and workhouses, or even in court statistics, observation tells us that women are seldom involved in organized crime (and particularly the strong-arm business of American organized crime, with its gangsters, racketeers, and corrupt politicians), and likewise are seldom found to commit the professional crimes which demand the acme of criminal technique. Finally, white-collar crime of big business executives is almost never committed by a woman. Her social roles do not get her very far into these areas of criminal activity, which interestingly enough have specific immunities in the United States to police and court action and which are able to sidestep courts and imprisonment.

The Masked Criminality of Women

As violating doers, women are very much less involved in crime than men, though the actual difference is not as much as indicated in official reports. Dr. Otto Pollak, who has done the definitive work on female criminality,⁵ attributes the disparity to "masked" behavior of women, incidental to their roles, which in turn are an outcome of

⁴ *Uniform Crime Reports, op. cit.*, p. 116. Computations made by the author.

⁵ Otto Pollak, *The Criminality of Women*, Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 1950.

social position, psychological components of femaleness, and physiological disabilities. Out of a mass of integrated evidence, I have selected the following points in Pollak's findings. (In all the specifics, hold on to female role as the determinant.)

1. Female criminality is grossly underreported, especially when we consider shoplifting, thefts by prostitutes, thefts by domestic servants, abortions, offenses against children, poisoning of husbands. Homosexuality and exhibitionism in women go practically unprosecuted. The role as homemaker, nurse, wife, shopper, or mistress enables the woman to commit crimes which are screened from view (masked).

2. Women offenders, more than male offenders, use deceit and indirection in their criminal acts. The reason for this greater indirection is to be found in sexual mores and physical disabilities which dictate concealed female behavior.

3. Women violators have a more restricted focus on victims of their aggressions than have men. Women focus on persons close to them, such as family members, children, husbands, lovers. This constricted focus is consistent with the role women play in society.

4. Arsenic poisoning is the principal means used for killing husbands or close relatives. As housewife and shopper the woman can buy rat poison inconspicuously; in her role of preparer of food and nurse to the sick she can administer poison unobtrusively.

5. In the recent past, infants have often been undetectably killed by neglect and starvation by women who have operated "baby farms" for the babies of unmarried or working mothers. Before the advent of widespread birth control measures, infanti-

cide was quite prevalent and quite concealed, especially among unmarried mothers and widows.

6. Sex offenses committed by women against young children remain masked, while such offenses are highly visible in men. Sex acts can be masked by "sham measures of children's discipline."

7. The woman's many roles give her abundant opportunity to thief. Thefts by domestic servants are observed to be rampant. Store detectives are soft on women shoplifters; store policy must be easy on women who appear to be selecting things. Female pickpockets have a certain immunity because they are female; male victims hesitate to turn them in.

8. Blackmailing activities of women seldom come to light, because their victims, usually men, do not want to risk the publicity of exposing a blackmailing woman.

9. Of all female crimes, abortions are the least reported. Conservative estimates run to 200,000 criminal abortions committed in the U. S. annually, although the situation here is not supposed to be as bad as it is in France. Pollak contends that inclusion of unreported abortions along with the reported offenses of all charges would reduce the sex ratio in New York State from 10 to 1 to 5 to 1.

Differential Causation⁶

The most tangible evidence for the difference in female and male criminality is in the specifics of the doer, reported or unreported. The evidence for a differential causation is very spotty indeed. In view of the poverty

⁶ See the author's attempt to project differential causative factors in delinquency and crime for males and females, in his book on *Criminal Behavior*, second edition, 1955, pp. 68-72.

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of reliable information about causes, the author must be pardoned for suggesting certain differentia, which have impressed him as a result of his lifelong study of delinquency and crime and their control, treatment, and prevention.

In the first place, the factor of companionship occurs much less frequently in female delinquency and crime than in male delinquency and crime. Women are not so likely to be involved in two-some, three-some, four-some crime; they are more likely to be lone-wolf doers. Here again this is the operation of culture pattern and role.

In instances of prostitution and sex delinquency as well as very low level theft, the factor of subnormal intelligence breaks through sufficiently to make general samples of female offenders display a higher proportion of subnormal intelligence than is displayed by general samples of male offenders.

The guilt factor seems to be much more frequent in female delinquency and crime than in male delinquency and crime. This is especially true in sexual offenses, petty theft, petty fraud, shoplifting, and drunkenness, which are so often guilt-laden compulsions. In comparison with the role of the boy or man in our society, the role of the girl or woman makes her more vulnerable to the development of guilt feelings and neurotic symptoms. The female child is the lesser wanted and the more restrained.

On the other hand, there is good reason to believe, once again because of role structure, that males are more likely than females to develop a psychopathic pattern of personality—with weak ego, weak superego, impulsivity, immaturity, lack of empathy, and failure to grasp the reality principle of life—all in all pretty well summarized by Fritz Redl's term, "lack of

controls from within."⁷ Such an ego is supercharged for aggrandizement in all areas of life. The male can the more readily fit into this slot because he is more likely to have been indulged as a child, while the female child is brought up to make way for him. By virtue of this allowable and encouraged aggrandizement of the male child in the interpersonal relations of his early family life, the male child develops much less frustration tolerance than the female child, whose allowable role in early child development produces repression and guilt and a lot of super-ego.

Finally, there is the enigmatic problem of the sexual deviations, which seem to develop in males much more than in females. Perhaps the female role as caretaker of males, from early age on, prevents the girl and woman from becoming a peeper. Perhaps the woman plays a perpetually expected role of exhibitionist behind social exhibitionism. And one can glibly say that she is accorded her fetishism because fetishes are women's things (mementos), is permitted homosexuality because girls are girls, is encouraged in masochism because her role is to take joy in pain, and is unchallenged in her transvestism.

The male as a sexual deviant is a damaged male—one whose psychosexual development was arrested. He was not encouraged to butt his way around and not accorded enough aggrandizement. He was treated more like a female and in consequence the male sex deviant later develops guilt and impotence. And so as a damaged male he peeps, exhibits himself, parades in women's clothes, makes love to the wrong sex, plays with mementos of women, etc.

⁷ Fritz Redl and David Wineman, *Controls from Within*, Glencoe, Ill., Free Press, 1952.

Operational Theory for Treatment

The principal differences between men and women in crime are largely explicable by the roles cast for men and women in our society. To be sure, the complementary part of any role is the way society or closely related persons act toward it. The contention herein is that role theory as developed by American sociologists goes far in accounting for the specifics in male and female criminality.⁸

What is the application of role theory to extramural and intramural treatment of women offenders—in other words, to probation and parole work and to institutional handling? It is assumed that the officer or the worker in the authoritative setting is able to find the effective role to play with the woman offender. And here we so frequently must play by ear and hope that such and such a role will take with the client. Are we the good listener, the "overlooker," the steadfast person in the other's corner? Are we a catalyst, a motivator, a "pointer-out," a "checker-upper"? Are we a confidant, an understanding soul, a helpful hand, a port in a storm, an "exuder" of confidence, a protector, etc.?

At the risk of being excommunicated by women themselves and the apologists for women (who rarely subscribe

to any proposed differences in role expectancy), the following proposals are made for an effective operational theory for the treatment of women offenders on probation, in the correctional institution, and on parole.

1. The worker needs to use a much less inquisitorial approach (when required) with women than with men offenders. The woman puts up more defense against invasion of her private life than the man.

2. The worker needs to correct his sights for "overexpectation" of progress, movement, and achievement of the woman offender as a client. In other words, the worker needs to "underexpect" the achievable goals and the output toward success of women offenders more than for male offenders. (This might very well be due to the fact that the average male offender is generally thought to have a greater rehabilitative distance to go than the average female offender and that society expects more progress from males than from females.)

3. The worker is more apt with women than with male clients to have to play the game of overlooking and not noticing as well as of accepting excuses as if they were bona fide. He needs to display trust in the female more obviously than in the male offenders—which is a bit of make-believe. He must be prepared to bolster up the spirits of women offenders more than men offenders, in order to prevent discouragement.

4. The worker can more successfully lead women toward altruistic roles and activities than he can men.

5. In contrast to his work with men clients, the worker must appeal more to a woman's interest in her "finer self" and her "looking-glass self." Women need, more than men offenders, a self-image with which they can live and which makes them feel comfortable.

⁸ See the following references for how social roles, and the way people behave toward them, act as the major determiners of behavior from the sociological point of view: Talcott Parsons, "Age and Sex in the Social Structure of the United States," *American Sociological Review*, October, 1942, pp. 604-617; Leonard S. Cottrell, Jr., "The Adjustment of the Individual to His Age and Sex Roles," *ibid.*, pp. 617-620; Mirra Komarovsky, "Functional Analysis of Sex Roles," *American Sociological Review*, August, 1950, pp. 508-516; Leonard S. Cottrell, Jr., "Roles in Marital Adjustment," *Publications of the American Sociological Society*, 1933, pp. 107-115.

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The Psychology of the Female Offender

MAZIE F. RAPPAPORT

Division Supervisor, Protective Services, Baltimore Department of Public Welfare

I FERVENTLY hope that before too long some imaginative person will find a more accurate, more acceptable term for describing the woman or girl in trouble with the law than the adjective "female." It once implied gentility; now it has a disparaging connotation and, at this point in history, when we seem to be making progress in treating offenders with dignity and decency, it seems to me that we ought to find a descriptive term worthy of this modern concept of treatment.

In this description of the psychology of the female offender, I am drawing on my own professional experience of many years' work with delinquent women and girls, an experience which has given me a deep and abiding conviction that many female offenders do not like the trouble they are in and that many of them can be helped to a more useful and happier way of living.

Communities all over this country are concerned about the rise in crime among adults and youths. A special kind of concern is being expressed about the "female offender." There is alarm over the rise in assaultive and other violent crimes; interest is focused on the movement of women away from the older and more common offenses such as prostitution and disorderly conduct. Implicit in this concern is the question of the relationship between the extended rights and addi-

tional opportunities now open to women and their movement into what have always been known as the traditionally masculine offenses.

Women who are prostitutes, who neglect their children, who become involved in assaults and forgeries, do violence to the still pervasive concept of woman's role as a wife and mother; they represent a threat to the family. Women are wives, mothers, daughters, and sisters with established roles in our ever changing society; the family remains our basic unit. Although many women now combine marriage and careers, we frown, in fact, on the mother who neglects her child in favor of her job. Defiance of the special responsibilities of a woman in our society is still considered to be unconventional, even bad. The woman who works is expected to be responsible for *both* her home and her job. While the role of fathers and husbands has also shifted, we do not expect the man to assume the basic responsibility of homemaking.

Who and What Is She?

Before going on we should look at what we mean by the term "female offender." Are we limiting it to those women and girls who have been adjudicated violators of the law? Are we also thinking of the girls who are known to be promiscuous but who have not taken money for sexual rela-

tions? Are we including the women with out-of-wedlock children by several fathers? And what of negligent mothers? Have we really categorized the drug addict and alcoholic as sick, and thereby included them in the same category of "female offenders"?

In this paper I am defining "female offender" broadly to include the promiscuous girl and the negligent mother, in addition to those women and girls who have been adjudicated by a court—either adult or juvenile—to be violators of a law. They have committed socially unacceptable acts. Implicit in all that I write about the female offender is that attention must always be focused on what will most help her and the community: a continuing search for the causes of her antisocial behavior, coupled with a fresh and imaginative program of rehabilitation for her (whether she be on probation, in an institution, or on parole).

Those of us who work in the field of delinquency know well the human beings whose past, a burden of guilt, hangs heavily upon them. These are the women and girls who have failed in the past and are fearful of the future. When they come to community agencies they do not have a very high regard for themselves. When they come, it is against their wills, for *they are sent* by the court; and orders for their supervision accompany them. The community of which they do not feel an integral part is in turn unhappy and usually not hopeful for them. To the woman fully alive and finding her place in the world, the future is a promise; to these female offenders, who have lived so unhappily and destructively, the future is dark, without the bounds provided by purpose.

The most persistent and depressing fact which has emerged in our work

with these delinquent girls and women is their loneliness and unhappiness. Deep down inside themselves, they feel a desolation and despair which they cannot share with others for they, themselves, are so untrusting. Often, beneath the facade of boldness and bawdiness, there is malignant bitterness and devastating hopelessness. The person who has experienced so little of life's possibilities does not expect much of others. She may protest her lot and demand much; she is often defiant and ugly in manner; she may pretend there is no hurt and hide it; but, underneath, she usually has a feeling of futility, which comes from feeling unworthy and bad.

Even though some of these women have limited intelligence, it has been our experience that as a group they are neither feeble-minded nor mentally ill (although many of them are uneducated, unorganized human beings). Many of them were placed away from home as children. It is not uncommon for a young woman on probation to tell of having been "given away" to relatives or friends when she was a child. Some of them have tried to escape into bad marriages. Always, it seems, their homes have not been what a home should be—a place where a child can take her troubles.

But despite the burden of the past they carry, female offenders are strong because they are people who have learned how *not to do* things which are expected of them; they have learned less well just what to expect of themselves and how to live within the law. There was no lack of "doing" in their lives before they got into courts and correctional institutions, and they are still doers when they come out. Because of their unhappiness and their inability to relate well to other people, these girls have been mired deeper and

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deeper in trouble, unable either to bear themselves or to stop their antisocial acts, always searching for someone or something strong enough to stop them. But freedom for them can come only from within; each must find her own way to personal freedom. Somehow she must come to terms with what she wants and can have within the framework of the community.

Most women and girls in trouble have been involved with men in their violation of the law and usually they find themselves arrested, tried, and sentenced by men, men who vacillate between feelings of guilt and retribution, between attitudes which are sympathetic and those which are punitive. The girl in trouble often recalls her relationship with her father, her husband, and her boy friend, and identifies the police officer or bailiff, the judge or the prosecuting attorney, with the father who did not love her, the husband who was unable to hold her, the boy friend who walked out on her—whoever she may feel is responsible for her present trouble.

Why Is She an Offender?

The woman offender is not born bad. She does not come into this world destined to be a shoplifter or a prostitute. Defiance of her special responsibilities, coupled with defiance of any established authority, leads her into trouble. For her there has been no strong home life, no experience of learning from firm teachers the pleasures of personal engagement in an educational experience, no ethical or religious training, no sense of fair play born of creative recreation. Antisocial behavior has become her way of life. The female offender thinks of laws as shackles on her personal will. Her early experience with authority deter-

mines in great measure how she meets it in her later life. Either there has been no constructive use of authority in her home, or that authority has been punitive and hard, giving her no room for development of an independent self. Now, when she comes to a court or social agency because she has defied the law, she protests her innocence, fights and denies her own part in her trouble. She finds herself frowned upon by men and women alike; she finds herself living against and not with the main currents of community life. She spends her energy trying to prove that someone else—the boss, the judge, the social worker—is wrong. Because she is angry and unhappy, she argues and rationalizes; because she has so little feeling of her own worth, she is always testing other people.

Whatever the offense, the cause of delinquency is always the same. The human being who commits antisocial acts does so because she *cannot* or *will not* take responsibility for her own behavior in a society in which each person must do her share. Any serious violation of the law is, indeed, a form of psychological suicide. It is a destructive process in which the violator sets herself up to act against the accepted mores and laws of the community. That she is highly unlikely to win this fight does not deter her; it is her will against that which "is." Usually she has no clear idea of what she wants, but she is definitely against the demands on her because they are "unfair." As she acts out her "mad," she becomes self-destructive and destructive of others.

The female offender does not consciously understand this. But, in her anger and unhappiness, her first retributive weapon against society is a form of behavior difficult to control: prom-

iscuity, which in our society is a socially unacceptable and socially destructive way of life. My own experience is that many woman offenders who commit the more violent and assaultive crimes described so vividly in the daily press are also involved—indeed first involved—in promiscuous behavior. The attention of the public is now (in time of peace) on the violent acts and the physical harm to other people and things; not enough attention is focused on the serious social effects on home and community of the sex delinquency of girls and women.

When a girl or woman consistently puts all her own needs first, when she acts against the best interests of others, then she and those about her must be protected. The nature of her antisocial acts, the quality of their destructiveness, the milieu in which they are committed, are all important in determining how to protect the community.

Rehabilitating These Doers

I have said that these girls and women are doers. This is one of the most important dynamics in the rehabilitation process. Just as the most depressing fact is the loneliness and unhappiness of the female offender, so the most hopeful and optimistic fact is the prospect of behavior changes for some of these unhappy, antisocial human beings. To support the psychological strength of the female offender, the social worker, the penal institution, and all who work with her must help her to channel her "doing" into more constructive activities, to set her in motion toward more satisfying behavior. To accomplish this requires unswerving belief in human capacity for change. There must be clarity of purpose in the requirements which are set up for these untrusting female offenders.

As we work with these girls we find that the simple, everyday requirements of living, requirements which all of us must meet in some measure, can provide the structure which helps these girls modify their behavior. Insistence that she have an address which she and we can respect, a job with a known wage, supervision and opportunities for advancement, a physical examination—all provide protection for the girl in her new life, and a test of her ability to live within appropriate limits. The requirement that she remain in our jurisdiction and that she keep her weekly appointments in our agency offers her concrete limits against which she can struggle and test herself and us; but in this new situation, she is testing her own trustworthiness rather than other people's view of her.

The caseworker must always insure that the resources necessary to meet these new requirements are available to the girl. For instance: to move from a bawdy neighborhood, the girl must have another place available, so that she can test not whether she can *find* another place, but rather whether she can *meet the requirement of supervision* that she live in another neighborhood. When we say that she must quit her job as a barmaid or car hop, we must simultaneously refer her to a special counselor at the state employment service. If she *must* go to a venereal disease clinic because we say so, then we must be sure that a good clinic is available to her. Steadiness, consistency, and belief in her capacity for change offer the framework she needs in the difficult basic shift she must make. Our expectation that she will try to meet our requirements can help the girl make this shift from her past way of living, for our expectation puts a new value on her.

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"Expectation" as a Tool

The skill in using this psychological concept of expectation rests in knowing *what* to expect of each girl, *how much* to expect, and *when* to expect it. Certainly there are differences in capacities; some are less able, others move slowly because they are dull or blocked. But we expect something of all of them. The amount of change may be small, and the rate slow, but there must always be something identifiable in relation to our expectation which must be met by the female offender if we are to continue to work with her. We will not go on with her if we do not believe she is trying to meet our reasonable expectation. We see this as a life-giving force, requiring of her always some striving toward meeting what another person (a professional person in this instance) feels she is able to do in moving away from trouble.

And in trying to help her begin to feel her own value, her own dignity, we address the women who come to our service as Miss or Mrs. We see them by appointment. We tell them what they may expect of us when they are under our supervision. We are emphatic and clear that we are not law enforcement officers, saying that we will not be following them. We are equally clear that we expect them to cease their violations, to try to meet the requirements which we, as representatives of the law-abiding community, have set up for them.

It is apparent to us, by the response of the woman offender addressed as Miss or Mrs., by her surprise at our consideration of *her* convenience in setting the weekly appointment time she must keep, by her reaction to our unwillingness to permit her to exploit our help, that these things are impor-

tant to her because they are different from ways she has previously been treated. We want her to know and feel these differences, for we are sure that they are vital steps in helping her take possession of her own worth. "Call me June. Everyone else does," one blowzy woman recently said to her worker. "Why would I call you June? I've never seen you before," the worker responded. Mrs. White answered slowly that she would be more comfortable if called by her first name. She would feel more "personal" with her worker. The worker's unwillingness to let Mrs. White be June in our office, her clarity in explaining that this was a professional and not a personal relationship, is one conscious, carefully considered way of saying that Mrs. White cannot be with and to us what she was in her past. She will have to be different.

When we say to a girl just placed on probation that we expect her to come from the court house to our office "on her own," we are putting a trust in her which she may not have experienced before. Can she feel this to be a sample of what it will be like when she is on probation, free to move about in the community? Can she believe that this is the kind of responsibility we will expect her to take in getting to and from work and in getting to our office for regular appointments?

The Agency Job

The girls and women in whom we put this kind of trust do not often let us or themselves down. We have been impressed not only with their ability but with their own beginning belief in themselves, their capacity to do things they have not done before. In their own way they tell us that while we are firm and definite they know we

care what happens to them and, in this, they are right; our agency has nothing to lose and they, the female offenders, have much to gain if we can hold them firmly and realistically to meeting the requirements for decent and socially productive living. We have respect for them and what they are trying to do as they struggle and fight against the limits we set up for them, and we also have conviction about what we are doing, about what we stand for as a community agency. Our function is to offer these girls and women an opportunity to look at what they *were* doing, to decide whether they want to change this to a way happier for them, and then to help them to achieve this change.

How warped her past experience has left her, how she, as an individual, is able to take help, and what quality of help is offered to her, will determine whether she, an individual female offender, can be rehabilitated. No good will accrue for either the girl or the community unless there is careful evaluation of the possibility of helping each girl as she comes to an agency such as ours. Likewise, no agency wants or can afford to spend skill, time, and money on female offenders who will not take help. As *its* responsibility the community must provide (1) preventive services to stop the warping of personality, and (2) reha-

bitative services to repair the damage that has been done.

Punishment for the female offender—for any offender—lies neither in what the community thinks of her, nor in the sentence the judge imposes when she comes before him. It comes rather in her guilt about her own behavior. Only as she begins, with help, to live in comfort with her *self* can she attain the security to move forward, away from her past, to another and more satisfying way of living. Only as she can take possession of her past "badness" can she leave it and move forward to living in and within the limits of family and community.

And so it is for the community. When a sense of having failed the female offender (or the young, or the male, offender) assails a social unit, that community ought to be aware that only as its resources, both preventive and rehabilitative, are developed and extended so that family and individual living is revived, can the failure be erased. Only by this social effort can the children of today avoid becoming the female offenders of tomorrow. Only when the community recognizes and takes possession of its own "badness," its own weak spots, can it rid itself of them and move forward to make a way of living *within* society's limits more possible for all.

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Casework with the Female Probationer

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ANY discussion of the female probationer must be prefaced by a review of the general problem of the antisocial or delinquent girl and woman.

The part played by the so-called weaker sex in delinquency has been neglected too long. There have been many reasons for this. Certain authorities have stated repeatedly that the female offender is not as dangerous as the male because she usually presents social rather than criminal problems. They have failed, in most instances, to realize what far-reaching effects the delinquent girl and woman has upon the total criminal picture.

It is true that statistics in New York State alone contradict this statement. The figures reveal that there are fifteen male offenders for every female offender in state correctional institutions. This percentage is repeated in correctional populations and more general criminal statistics throughout the country. The extent of female delinquency, however, is much greater than that represented by the statistics, which reveal only legal delinquency. These statistics do not show, for instance, the great extent to which girl associates are closely involved with the assaultive city gangs. Criminal statistics seldom show the increasing

rate of sexual promiscuity among young girls. They seldom show the number of women bearing out-of-wedlock children and the number who are otherwise engaged in antisocial and criminal activity but who for various reasons are not arrested or prosecuted. Statistics do not show the number of offenders, both male and female, who are born out-of-wedlock as a result of the sexual promiscuity of the pre-delinquent or delinquent girl.

The percentage of known female offenders has always been smaller than that of male offenders, their offenses less spectacular, and the newspaper headlines therefore less glaring; they have not attracted the amount of attention necessary to spark action on their needs. Detention facilities, separate institutions, community facilities, and specialized correctional services have developed much more slowly for the female than for the male offender.

Thomas J. McHugh, Commissioner of New York State's Department of Correction, has described the problem of female delinquency as an "iceberg problem"—its greater proportions hidden beneath the surface. As a result of his conviction that the most serious aspect of female delinquency is its far-reaching consequences, the New York State Department of Correction is considering a study, from the data now in its files, on one phase of the problem: determining the number of

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inmates in prison who were born out-of-wedlock and hence, in many cases, lacked the early supervision and security which are so essential to a normal adjustment in life. If statistics reveal that there are many in this category, they would truly reflect the long-range effects resulting from the delinquency of women and would encourage community concentration on prevention and treatment services. The study may indicate the need for additional social research to clarify the effect of antisocial or delinquent behavior of women on the total criminal scene.

Professional Study of Female Delinquency

Professional conferences have included special sessions for juvenile delinquents, youthful offenders, sex offenders, narcotic addicts, and alcoholics, but the emphasis has been upon male offenders in the various groups. Only recently has some special attention been given to female offenders. In 1955, at the New York State Institute on Delinquency and Crime at St. Lawrence University (sponsored by the Department of Correction), eight lecture and workshop sessions were devoted to courses on the psychology and problems of the female offender. This program was so well received that it is now a part of the regular Institute schedule.

In April, 1956, at the NPPA-Middle Atlantic States Conference in New York City, there was a workshop on the female offender, the first time that such a program was presented on a national level. Those attending recommended that it become a regular part of the program in subsequent conferences. Since then, sessions on the problem of the female offender have been listed on the programs of other

correctional conferences throughout the country. Last October, at the Annual Conference on Probation held by the New York State Division of Probation, Department of Correction, at Elmira, a meeting of women probation officers representing local probation departments was called to discuss the problems of supervision of the female offender. Plans were formulated to have the Staff Development Bureau of the New York State Division of Probation conduct periodic in-service training sessions to meet the needs of women probation officers. If this trend of interest in female offenders continues, we will be able to exchange information and experiences and develop more effective programs for the treatment of the pressing problems of female offenders.

Women on Probation

Unfortunately, probation departments as well as other correctional agencies have been cavalier in their attitude toward female offenders. Large male case loads have received most of the attention of the predominantly male staff of probation administrators. The rare woman probation officer finds herself struggling almost single-handedly with the problem.

Some men in corrections are too punitive toward women in trouble, while others go to the opposite extreme; police, judges, and juries are at times too lenient with women only because they are women. This is especially true if the offender is the mother of small children. Women who commit such offenses as shoplifting, burglary, petty larceny, and public intoxication evoke sympathy in male authorities and get special consideration as a result. Women are seldom arrested or prosecuted for homosexual activities or for submitting to criminal abortions,

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though these are law violations. Where other sorts of crime are concerned—particularly in cases of prostitution—the woman is arrested and brought into court although her male counterpart is not even taken into custody.

In smaller probation departments, this inconsistent treatment poses a particular problem because women officers have to work with male supervisors and male judges whose knowledge of the problem is limited. In fact, obtaining consistent decisions and approval for effective and firm, but understanding, plans of treatment for female offenders referred to probation departments of all sizes is difficult. Another complication arises from the fact that, since women probation officers have had smaller case loads, and since those case loads are made up of "social" rather than "criminal" problems, additional duties are often heaped on them—taking time and effort from the supervision of female probationers. Two recent innovations in corrections may alleviate this situation in the near future: the added emphasis on the special problems of supervising the female offender, and consideration of the total work load, rather than the case load, as an index to the probation officer's output.

General Problems of Probation Casework

Women working with delinquent girls or women offenders are more likely to be aware of the special problems presented by this group than are men. All the probation officer's resources—casework skills, community resources, other disciplines—are not enough. There is that extra plus which can make the difference between satisfactory and unsatisfactory adjustment: special knowledge of female psychology and behavior patterns.

I shall take up casework in probation generally, and some problems that are common to both the female and male probationers, first.

The importance of the relationship established with the female offender during the initial interview and during the investigation process cannot be emphasized too much. The probation officer's first contact with her is usually immediately after her conviction, when the shocks of arrest, detention, court hearing, and judicial decision are still very clear to her. The attitudes of offenders during these initial contacts are varied. Some are defiant, some sullen; others appear cooperative but are really hesitant or reluctant to express their true feelings or to offer social history data without direct and persistent questioning.

These attitudes have many causes. She may be responding to her recent traumatic experiences by resistance to the authority which the probation officer represents, or with fear of saying or doing anything to jeopardize her precarious freedom.

A problem peculiar to women probationers is the double standard. The general public, employers, and families of probationers may show some understanding and acceptance of the boy in trouble, but even this is sometimes absent in the case of the girl or woman offender. The probation officer must prepare to help the female offender overcome her guilt and also help her face her problem in the community with her family, her friends, and her employer. A nonjudgmental attitude toward the offender's previous behavior is even more important to the female than to the male because she is more likely to be aware of society's reaction to her antisocial or criminal behavior. Readiness to accept her as she is, to help her understand that

every opportunity to make a satisfactory social adjustment will be hers, is imperative. Early, well-planned interviews are the cornerstone of an effective relationship between the probation officer, the offender, and the offender's family.

Detention often hampers presentence interviews with the offender. But these interviews (together with interviews of the family) are the probation officer's opportunity to explain the purposes of probation to the offender and to prepare the relatives for the kind of cooperation which will be most beneficial to the probation department and to the offender. Creating family understanding of the offender's behavior and modifying home situations which may have contributed to delinquency begin during the presentence investigation.

The presentence report should give the judge a clear picture of the offender's legal status, social history, physical condition, and emotional make-up. It should show not only what has happened prior to the offender's apprehension, but also how these events affected her present situation. It should stress not only her weaknesses but also her strengths. With this comprehensive information, the judge can better make an intelligent and understanding decision.

The occasion for constructive casework during supervision is never lacking. During the first interview after probation is granted, the first of those occasions which are not dependent on individual situations appears: the rules and regulations of probation need discussion. Conditions under which the probationer will be supervised, home and employment possibilities, and the probable frequency of office visits should be reviewed. The probationer should be informed that the degree of

her adjustment will regulate the frequency of the visits and that the eventual relaxation of supervisory control will depend upon her own efforts, her progress and adjustment, and her ability to accept responsibility. These plans are made *with* her, not *for* her.

A realistic plan of treatment should be clearly defined within the limitations of the agency and of the individual offender. This plan of treatment should rest on a clear picture of the problems from the female offender's standpoint and her plans for meeting them, as well as on the probation officer's viewpoint and her long-range solution. The probationer should clearly understand those controls that seem necessary in her individual situation—such as restrictions on places of employment, kinds of friends, and areas of residence and recreation.

The probationer should understand what the department expects of her and what she can expect from the department. She should understand that the probation officer will not condone behavior that damages either her or the community. She should understand that the probation officer will give her advice on any of her problems.

Many female offenders come from cultural fringe groups and are not always aware of accepted standards of grooming, personal hygiene, and dress. Probation officers have a responsibility to guide young women probationers in these matters. Officers should not impose their own cultural standards upon the female offender, but they do have the responsibility of helping her understand that society generally sets standards of attire acceptable for certain occasions, and that to adjust satisfactorily in society she must conform. Hair curlers, dungarees, chino pants, and party dresses have their

place; but that place is not the employment office or the probation office.

The probation officer should assist in filling the gap between the probationer's previous training, experience, and behavior, and what is generally accepted as conformity with social norms. It may even be necessary for the woman probation officer to assist the young woman offender in budgeting her money and in guiding her in the wise expenditure of this money.

Assisting the female probationer to obtain satisfactory employment is a difficult task. Most women on probation lack specialized skills and training and for that reason are usually in the low income group. Economic adjustment is often difficult for probationers who previously earned much more, much faster, illegally. Because of their court records, lack of training, and unstable employment histories, women offenders are often reluctant and unprepared to seek new employment. Recognizing these problems, exploring the offender's feelings regarding them, and aiding her in meeting them realistically are important investments in subsequent satisfactory employment adjustment.

Employment referrals are handled differently in many areas. Some probation officers personally telephone or visit prospective employers; others refer the probationer to the state employment agency; still others, unfortunately, send the woman out to find a job without assistance. It is true that the job is the probationer's responsibility, but early in the period of supervision she often needs a helping hand—in this, and other problems.

In New York state, a cooperative project of specialized services for the training and placement of probationers and parolees has been begun by the Department of Correction, the Divi-

sion of Parole of the Executive Department, and the Division of Employment of the Labor Department. This should prove of great assistance to probation officers in placing female offenders in new and more satisfactory employment.

Special Problems

The physical and emotional changes which occur during the menses, pregnancy, and the menopause often affect the behavior of female probationers. Emotionally mature women will have little difficulty during these periods—but we do not usually deal with the emotionally mature. The female probationer who has unusual physical discomfort during the menses should be referred to a physician for treatment. The probationer who is extremely disturbed emotionally or unusually depressed, tense, or anxious may benefit from referral to a psychiatrist. The probation officer can, however, help such women understand their own reactions during these periods. Careful interpretation to her, to relatives, and to others involved may help the offender avoid trouble in her home and on her job and perhaps avert a serious violation of probation.

For instance, there is this typical case:

A twenty-year-old mentally dull woman probationer had periodic difficulties with her employer, although she was in general pleased with her place of employment. On two of the worst of these occasions she became extremely argumentative during working hours, and later became intoxicated, thereby facing loss of employment. The worker determined that these occasions occurred regularly a few days before the woman's menstrual periods. The casework task at this point was to help the offender

understand herself during these periods, and to help her understand that continued difficulties would not be condoned. The probationer did not lose her job and avoided further disciplinary action.

Menopausal emotional disturbances can affect the success of probation not only through the female probationer herself, but also through the mother of the probationer. Take this instance:

A 23-year-old probationer (convicted of forgery) was having difficulty with her mother and was so agitated over her home situation that her over-all adjustment—on her job and during her leisure time—was affected. Her mother, forty-seven, was extremely irritable and tense, and often disagreed with the probationer, the father, and the two younger children. During interviews with this mother, the worker learned that she was in the menopause and worried about serious physical and mental disturbances which would, she thought, prevent her caring for the smaller children. She had not been able to discuss her fears with her husband or daughter and was reluctant to secure medical attention. Talking to the probation officer was a great release and led to her seeing a doctor. When her feelings were discussed with the probationer and the husband, serious difficulty was avoided. In this case, as in most, the probation officer had to work with the entire family constellation in order to aid the female probationer to make a satisfactory adjustment.

Although probation officers need to understand those emotional disturbances which may affect the adjustment of some female offenders, they do not condone destructive behavior during the menses, menopause, or pregnancy. Many women have used physical or emotional disturbances during these

periods to justify their unusual behavior and to receive special consideration. Some female offenders have developed a pattern of antisocial, delinquent, and later criminal behavior because they have learned that they could avoid facing the consequences of their behavior and get off lightly with their "condition" as an excuse.

This behavior is highlighted by the history of one female offender recently referred to probation for investigation. This thirty-year-old married woman, mother of four children, was convicted of grand larceny, second degree. It was her first felony conviction; her record showed five previous arrests, three for burglary and two for illegal entry. Her first arrest for burglary occurred when she was seventeen years of age, single, and pregnant. She was adjudicated a youthful offender and committed to a private institution for one year, but, unfortunately for her later life, her pregnant condition was not discovered until three months after this commitment.

Since the institution had no facilities to care for her, she was returned to the court and placed on probation. At the time of four subsequent arrests, she was pregnant, and each time she used her pregnancy to request and secure leniency, sometimes in the form of a conviction for a lesser charge. On one occasion, during a period of supervision in the community, there were many pressures in her home situation, and she was having difficulty in assuming her responsibilities as a wife and mother. There were danger signals in her behavior and the worker feared that she would try to solve her problems as she had done in the past—by burglary. Although the officer attempted to interpret the role of the psychiatrist to her, she refused to con-

sider even an evaluation interview. Because her problem was deepseated, psychiatric assistance was necessary to determine the proper way to aid her in gaining insight and to support her as she learned to give up her antisocial behavior. The officer, therefore, did arrange a consultative interview.

The psychiatrist's opinion was that the woman was "very sick but not psychotic." He stated that she displayed many schizophrenic trends but was not consistent in them; although she had a high I.Q., she operated on a low level. She was a clever burglar, yet almost asked to be caught—she entered places that were occupied and the very next day returned to the same street to commit the same type of burglary.

The psychiatrist stated that treatment on a deep therapeutic level would stir up many conflicts which her ego was not strong enough to handle and would result in her commitment to a state hospital. He suggested that the worker endeavor to establish a dependency relationship, making it possible to develop a superego. In the past, the woman had been buying affection with the money she stole. If a warm relationship were established with the worker, it might be possible for her to gain affection and understanding by conforming to a better social pattern. But this plan never was put into effect; two weeks after the psychiatric consultation, she was arrested on a new offense. Once more she enjoyed a great deal of newspaper publicity and, by proclaiming that she was stealing to feed her children (which was not true), much sympathy. Although she had been arrested on a burglary charge, the jury convicted her of illegal entry, a misdemeanor.

It might have been possible to help this woman had the planning in her

behalf been more constructive after her first court appearance. At subsequent arrests, she won the sympathy of the victim, the court, or the jury, and always got lenient treatment. According to the psychiatrist, it would have been better for her eventual adjustment had she faced the consequences of her behavior at an early date.

Although this particular woman got much consideration because of her pregnancy at the time of her court appearance, other female offenders do not. Many young offenders who are *not* such community risks are committed to institutions because their out-of-wedlock pregnancies so complicate an already tangled situation that no other solution seems possible. Where communities do have adequate provisions for the care of unwed pregnant girls, these resources should be used if other factors do not indicate the need for institutionalization.

Out-of-wedlock pregnancy complicates an already difficult problem. The probation officer must help the female offender work through her own feelings toward all the elements of the situation—the child, the putative father, paternity proceedings, confinement, return to the community, and plans for the child (shall it remain with her, be placed in a foster home, or be placed for adoption?). The parents' feelings toward their daughter's situation must be canvassed; their assistance in making realistic plans is necessary. If careful plans are made prior to the young woman's return to her home after the birth of the child, serious future difficulties may be avoided for the child, the offender, and the offender's family.

This paper has presented some of the highlights of the problems of supervision of female probationers—al-

though alcoholism, narcotic addiction, residence away from home, and recreational facilities, for instance, have not been touched on.

Research to determine the effect of antisocial or delinquent behavior of women on the total criminal picture is sorely needed. I have identified some of the complex problems the female offender presents to the community, the court, and the probation officer; have pointed out the need for greater understanding of these problems, the need for constructive use of authority and consistent discipline in aiding the female probationer to meet her problems, and the need for utilizing all casework skills and community resources in the supervision of the female probationer. These are all important in treating the female offender, who plays a primary role in the total criminal activity of the country.

Women correctional workers must continue to present their views regarding the true proportions of the problems of female offenders and must exert every effort to develop the interest of community and professional groups in these problems. They must utilize every opportunity to exchange information, experiences, and mistakes in meeting the problems of women offenders, and in evaluating the effects of present treatment methods. They must insist on the inclusion of workshops and seminars in professional conferences and specialized training programs within their own departments for better understanding of the antisocial, delinquent, or criminal female.

Every means must be taken to improve services and develop more effective programs for the treatment of the female offender.

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Institutional Treatment of Women Offenders

HENRIETTA ADDITON

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SADISM and vindictiveness in correctional care are no longer acceptable. It has been years since a prison official has risen in public defense of lashings or other forms of brutality which were once approved as methods of discipline.

Correction is changing and will continue to improve, but years of stagnation have left their mark on institution personnel—and the press in general still takes the position that flexibility in the treatment of prisoners means coddling and laxity. It is now recognized among professional penologists that discipline is not merely concerned with assaults and escapes, that surface quiet and acceptance of the rules by inmates do not mean that rehabilitation is taking place (although they may help in decreasing stomach ulcers among superintendents and wardens).

The two important and as yet unsolved problems are: When a fellow human being is removed from the community and put under custody, how can this time of confinement best be used to prepare for a return to a happy, meaningful, and successful life? How can the dangerous, unreformable criminal be located and kept permanently out of circulation in a free society? The answers to these questions should be the goal of prison administrators.

Perhaps because there is less fear of women who commit crimes than

there is of men, correctional institutions for women have been more free to discard repressive measures and develop programs of rehabilitation than those for men, although performance even in the best still lags far behind ideals.

The first separate institution for women in this country was the Indiana Women's Prison, which opened in 1873. Four years later the Massachusetts Prison (now "Reformatory") for Women was opened. In 1901 the New York State Reformatory for Women was opened at Bedford Hills; it was not until 1933 that the State Prison for Women, until then a section of Auburn Prison, was combined with the Reformatory under one administration as Westfield State Farm. The District of Columbia Women's Reformatory was opened in 1910. Federal women offenders were boarded there, in state prisons, local jails, and houses of correction until the Federal Reformatory for Women opened in Alderson, West Virginia, in 1927. The New Jersey Reformatory for Women was opened in 1913 and women in the State Prison at Trenton were transferred there in 1929.¹

¹ For the number of institutions for women, their normal capacity and average population, see *Correctional Institutions*, August, 1956, compiled by the American Correctional Association.

The history of women's correction institutions shows that many of them have made outstanding contributions to the effectiveness of both men's and women's prisons. Certain elements are now generally accepted as essential in their operation. This article will outline some of those elements, both inside and outside the institution, which must be provided if facilities of maximum value for rehabilitation are to be afforded women who are held apart from the community.

Housing of Women Offenders

Institutions for men and boys were built with an eye toward permanence. The steel construction necessary to provide custody was expensive and is now difficult to replace, even though new concepts have since been developed that make these plants obsolete. In general the first separate institutions for women followed the men's prison model. Those built in the last forty years show the results of intelligent planning to provide attractive buildings adapted to new programs in prison administration. Most are designed on the cottage plan, with individual rooms, a living room, a dining room, and a kitchen with modern equipment.

Plans for new buildings should be simple and inexpensive so that changes in the physical plant can keep up with progressive programs in penology. The trend is to drop from the women's institution title the words "prison" and "reformatory," although occasionally commitment papers still read "sentenced to prison for hard labor."

The term "cottage" connotes a small house, but costs frequently make it unrealistic to propose units that house less than twenty-five or thirty women. Even in these, if the atmos-

phere is congenial, there can be training for homemaking and other activities which can be carried on by the women in their homes after they are released.

There is seldom a wall around a women's institution, although in most instances the grounds are surrounded by a wire fence of the type that surrounds large industries and country estates. Its purpose is not so much to keep the inmates in as to keep intruders out.

Women's institutions should not be located in a city, where outdoor activities cannot be carried on and where opportunities for escape are tempting. The desirable location for a women's institution is within convenient travel distance from a community where staff members can have recreational and educational opportunities for themselves and their children, and where inmates' families can visit easily and inexpensively. In the final analysis, the physical plant, while making every provision for the custody and safety of prisoners, must endeavor to furnish surroundings as near as possible to the outside community to which eventually most of them should return.

Personnel

The success of a correction program depends even more on the adequacy and quality of the staff than it does on housing, important as that is. Employee and inmate relationships in women's institutions are usually much closer than in men's institutions. The personnel must meet the highest standards in ability, character, personality, and training. They must have adequate pay, reasonable working hours, vacation and sick leave, fair retirement provisions, and tenure depending on performance alone. There

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are outstanding exceptions, but many members of every institution staff are inadequate, inexperienced, or untrained, with little conception of the problems they face or of the methods necessary to motivate and redirect human behavior. Every member of the staff should have ability, training, poise, and stability. An irritable, ill-tempered, punitive officer inevitably arouses hostility in inmates. Only well-adjusted trained officers of sound character can gain and keep the confidence and respect of those in their custody.

The chief administrative officer is generally called a "superintendent," although in some instances the title of "warden" is used. The superintendents are, with a few exceptions, well trained and competent. Politics have usually played little, if any, part in their appointments, doubtless owing to the fact that until recently the salaries were low. The qualifications needed for a superintendent are hard to define. The statement made in 1922 by Dr. Miriam Van Waters, Superintendent of the Massachusetts Reformatory for Women, is still true:

The superintendent's problem often demands that she be an expert business administrator, capable of handling hundreds of thousands of dollars. She must be something of a farmer, builder, architect, mother, teacher, housekeeper, stockholder, engineer, landscape gardener, psychologist, psychiatrist, and domestic economist. Above all, her temperament must be evenly balanced, creative. She must be a specialist in the difficult art of human relations. Every type of human problem is present in the state institution. Even if the superintendent has a staff of experts, she must understand how to make them sing in tune.²

² "Where Girls Go Right," *The Survey*, June, 1922.

The superintendent must also have imagination and a real belief in other human beings. Obviously no one person possesses all these qualifications. Perhaps superintendents generally come as close to meeting the requirements as college presidents, school superintendents, and principals do to meeting theirs.

The assistant superintendent in a women's institution usually corresponds to a principal keeper in a men's prison. Under the direction of the superintendent she is responsible for discipline and routine management of the institution, and ideally should have the same qualities, though not necessarily the same experience, as the superintendent, because she must take the latter's place in her absence.

The custody officers who come into closest contact with inmates have usually been called "matrons." In many institutions the title has been changed to "correction officer." As part of the hierarchy of police, probation, and parole officers, correction officers could retain the title until a better one is found. In the federal correction system men and women both have the title of correction officer and get the same salary. A few years ago the New York City Department of Correction reclassified the guards and matrons as correction officers so that they receive equal salaries. Their duties are equally arduous.

The present aims for rehabilitation in the women's institutions are greatly hindered by lack of aptitude of the custodial staff (though there are outstanding exceptions), and in-service training for many of them is a farce. Able people cannot be recruited until the general discrimination in classification and salaries against women officers has been wiped out.

In addition to the officers who are

concerned directly with custodial problems, women's institutions have a variety of other employees, among whom are chaplains, psychiatrists, psychologists, social workers, guidance counselors, teachers, physicians, nurses, dentists, accountants, clerks, dietitians, cooks, chauffeurs, engineers, carpenters, painters, plumbers, farmers, and laborers. The need for professional services for dealing with individual delinquents—psychiatric, medical, education, personal, and vocational counseling—is everywhere more apparent, but nowhere are they sufficiently supplied.

One of the possibilities in strengthening the administration of a correctional institution is a lay board. To be effective it must be made up of intelligent and highly respected citizens, free from administrative responsibility. Its contribution lies in its capacity to report to the public objectively on the program and its fulfillment at the institution, to advise the administration, and to express the citizens' point of view to governors, mayors, legislators, civil service commissioners, and other related governmental officers who often discount the advice of the officials of the institutions.

Reception, Classification, and Treatment

When a woman is committed for the first time, she is filled with a fear of unknown horrors. Actually, in most women's institutions today she will find no physical punishment, but her rehabilitation cannot even begin until she feels assured that there will be no mental cruelty, that her personality will be respected, and that discipline will, as far as possible, be held to the minimum necessary for satisfactory community living.

The first step on the road to prison

is an important moment in the committed woman's life. In some places she is crowded into a prison van; if transported by train, she wears handcuffs. Her fears increase with each mile she travels. A woman officer is today almost always in attendance. If the trip is made in an ordinary automobile with an understanding officer, her fears may be allayed and her acceptance of the institution's program can begin. When she reaches the institution, the routine usually begins with examination of commitment papers, inventory of possessions, a bath, and assignment to a hospital room for the quarantine period. A tactful, sympathetic officer can do much to establish a friendly atmosphere and dispel distrust merely by the way in which these duties are performed.

Quarantine should never be a period of punishment or sterile inactivity, but the start of rehabilitation. Comfortable surroundings, nourishing food, and both exercise and rest are essential. The physical examination includes diagnostic tests of teeth, eyes, throat, and chest; inoculations should be given and, when indicated, a basal metabolism test and other diagnostic examinations should be made. The medical staff can then begin correcting remediable defects.

First contacts with the professional staff are usually made at this time. The results of tests of intelligence, special aptitudes, educational achievement, and vocational interests aid in plans for the inmate's program. During this period the staff learns something about what to expect in regard to the behavior and possibilities of an inmate who herself learns what is expected of her and in what direction a new start can be made.

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usually goes to a reception cottage where academic and vocational abilities are further studied. Some institutions have guidance counselors or social workers who are responsible for orientation to the institution's program. This requires knowledge of the inmate's background as a basis for the social case history. Letters to social agencies, schools, and courts provide valuable data for future planning. The conferences of the classification committee³ provide an opportunity to build up in the inmates a sense of confidence through participation in formulating their own programs. Informality gets the best results.

When we realize that most of our institutions for women accept practically all types of felons and misdemeanants — including wayward minors, youthful offenders, prostitutes, and drug users and sellers above juvenile court age—the importance of careful classification becomes evident. Our present procedures are a good beginning, but they are not good enough. Future planning should include:

1. A screening center where intensive study and classification of inmates can be carried on for a varying period—which means additional staff and a separated housing unit.

2. Adequate psychiatric and case-work services for those girls who need it—and there are many. The amount of such service will depend on the size of the inmate population, but it should be sufficient to afford help to disturbed individuals both directly

³ This usually consists of the superintendent, the assistant superintendent, the director of education, the guidance supervisor, and the parole representative. If the chaplain, the physician, the psychiatrist, or the psychologist cannot be present, he sends in his report.

and through the interpretation of their needs to the rest of the staff.

3. Provision for return to the classification center of girls who have not been able to adjust in the cottage or in work assignments.

Inmates usually go to their cottage "home" after classification. There, unless something unforeseen comes up, they remain for the rest of their institutional lives. They then become members of the community and are entitled to its privileges: church, school, employment, movies, and other group activities. These may be forfeited, however, by antisocial behavior—which is also the rule of life outside the institution.

New resources in the treatment of persons with behavior problems are constantly being discovered. Group therapy, for instance, is being recognized now as a necessary implement in a women's institution. Another recent innovation is the use of thorazine and other tranquilizing drugs in episodes of acute excitement. Such experimentations should always be under the direct supervision of thoroughly qualified personnel.

Religion and Spiritual Development

No rehabilitation program can ignore the need for religious aid. The beliefs of psychiatrists and chaplains are sometimes thought to be far apart, yet they both recognize the lifelong need for security. Nothing fulfills this need as well as accepting a religion as true. None of the women's institutions have full-time chaplains who can confer with the inmates on their personal problems in addition to conducting services, but they should at least have part-time clergymen of the different faiths for both purposes. In New York State, courses in "Success-

ful Living" are now being given by Catholic, Jewish, and Protestant chaplains with staff aid. These are proving helpful and interesting to the inmates who participate in them. Attendance at church services should not be made compulsory by the institution administration, but inmates should be encouraged to attend. It is a common human experience to turn to religious sources for aid during a crisis. Certainly such help, on more than a perfunctory basis, should always be available to those in prison.

Academic and Vocational Education

Education should be a cornerstone of the rehabilitation program. It requires the guidance of a director of education who has experience and imagination. All teachers need enthusiasm for their work and interest in their students, but this is especially true in a correctional institution. They should be experienced and well-qualified and should be engaged for full-time work.

Academic programs should be expanded to include high school graduation and, for those who are interested, some college courses, even if they must be given by correspondence. Except for those in their teens, participation in the academic program should be on a voluntary basis, although instruction in reading and writing at least should be compulsory for illiterates. Recent research in the field of education has pointed up the relationship of reading disabilities to emotional disturbances and antisocial behavior. Instruction in remedial reading may well prove an effective tool in the institution's education program.

The academic and vocational training should be closely tied together. In a woman's institution some instruction

should be offered in child care, practical nursing, and the essentials of homemaking. Courses in cooking, general housework, and waiting on table are the most important, not so much as training for domestic service as for making a comfortable, attractive home without great cost.

Much of the maintenance work—cooking, waiting on table, scrubbing, and laundry work—has been called training. Such activities may have some value, but they cannot be called education. Training programs should include instruction in the theory and practice of actual vocations. The extension of guidance counseling should help to make sure that maintenance work is not substituted for education. Assignments should be based on aptitudes, interests, and job opportunities available on the return of the woman to the community.

In many institutions training is given in sewing and dressmaking to inmates who make the institution clothes. The machinery and supervision should be similar to that in modern factories, so that the training is useful to the inmate in getting a job after her release. Some institutions have "industry" programs where clothing and other articles are made for other state departments. Pay is allowed inmates for this work, but women are seldom paid the same as men. Most institutions train women in laundry work; the extent of farm work training varies greatly. While there is little opportunity for jobs on farms for women, the outdoor work often has helpful and therapeutic effects. Beauty culture courses help keep the inmates well groomed and prepare them for outside positions. Commercial courses are popular, but must be restricted to those women with adequate academic background and mental ability.

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Nurse's aid assignments are popular and most communities offer plenty of jobs. Often, inmates who at first do not fit into regular training classes can benefit from arts and crafts and occupational therapy programs. All of these vocational training courses aim to prepare the women not only for making a living and, therefore, for parole consideration, but also for a more complete life after release.

In most institutions, babies can remain with their mothers. In some, women are delivered in the infirmary, but in others they are sent to hospitals on the outside. Whether the child should be placed almost immediately for adoption is a moot question in a number of cases. Of course the baby's welfare should be the prime consideration, but, where a good relationship between mother and child is established, the care of her child can be important in the mother's rehabilitation. Mothers who care for their babies are assisted by trained nurses who give them excellent training. State laws differ regarding the length of time babies may remain in a correction institution with mothers who elect to keep them. Provision must be made for the child's return to the community in all cases of long-term commitments.

Constructive Leisure Time Activity

Increasing emphasis is being put on the need for recreational activities in correctional institutions for women. An auditorium, a gymnasium, a library, and cottage recreation rooms are recognized as essential. Movies, radio, and television are also acknowledged needs. But even more important than the equipment is the quality of the personnel directing the activities, who must have the ability to develop good sportsmanship among

participants and to see that the program contributes to physical and mental health.

Little effort has been made in correction institutions to promote interest in good reading. If reading habits are formed, it is easy to carry them over, for there are libraries in almost every community. The institution library should not contain out-of-date books and old magazines, but the same sort of books and periodicals one can get in public libraries. Under creative leadership, opportunities for recreation in a women's institution are limitless. Such things as food surprises at picnics and unexpected entertainments can be effective in building up morale.

Discipline

When the program of a women's institution is constructive, disciplinary problems are greatly reduced. Small population and friendly relations between staff and inmates allow the emphasis to fall on self-discipline. The prison haircut and striped or institutional clothing are unusual nowadays. Punishment for its own sake, such as reduced food rations, is comparatively rare. Loss of privileges is largely substituted for such measures. When a woman has a temper tantrum or strikes another inmate, isolation may be necessary, but the need for psychiatric help is recognized and an "observation" room in the hospital may be substituted for the now outdated segregation cell.

Leaders in the correction field have frequently pointed out that laxity and low standards ought not to be substituted for brutality and repression. It is sometimes easy for officers in a women's institution to overlook violations of rules and undesirable conduct as long as surface order is

maintained. Positive measures that develop self-control in the individual and good morale throughout the institution are characteristic of better prison regimes.

Food and Clothing

As it is axiomatic that an army travels on its stomach, so is it true that special attention should be given to the way food in an institution is planned, prepared, and served. Prison administrators have long recognized that the "mess hall" can be one of the most delicately explosive areas in the institution—and poor food can be the spark to touch off the tinder of rebellion. This is as true in institutions for women as in those for men and the problem is so closely related to other aspects of the rehabilitative program that it is central to it.

Menu planning, food preparation, and service are activities in which almost every woman becomes involved to some degree, whether vocationally or as a homemaker. The aim of the institution must be, therefore, not only to serve healthful, tasty meals, but also to teach the technique of doing it. We must remember that we feed those women who will feed others in the community—adults and children. They must learn through example, experience, and training what constitutes an economical, well-balanced, well-prepared, and attractively served meal. An adequately balanced diet is enough in an institution for men, but not for a women's institution. Most administrators feel that this can be done best in a cottage-type institution, in which meals are planned, prepared, and served in family style for a relatively small group. This kind of program gives opportunity for training in the selection of food and in budgeting. Although decen-

tralization of food preparation and service makes for somewhat higher per capita costs than large quantity cooking and mass feeding, the additional costs are chargeable to the training program budget rather than to the institution's food budget alone. In general, per capita food costs are higher for an institution housing women and babies than for an institution for men.

Clothing, also, is more important to women than to men. This should be recognized and used as part of the total training program. Traditionally, men are concerned more with comfort, neatness, and cleanliness than with variety and attractiveness in their apparel. They do not normally become uncomfortable or concerned about wearing clothing which is identical with what the next man is wearing; in fact, they are more uncomfortable if they look different. The clothing worn by a woman, however, is directly related to her self-respect and her own self-concept. Administrators have long acknowledged the need for providing women with facilities for looking their best. If we are to help women assume a comfortably constructive place in our society, we must help them learn to dress and groom themselves in accord with the expectations of that society.

While it is customary in our world for women to express individuality through their clothing and appearance, women in correctional institutions have often had to wear uniforms—and not very modish or becoming ones at that. A basic aim of the modern correctional program is to build self-respect and self-confidence. One of the tools for accomplishing this is education in personal grooming and appearance. Prison dress should follow, as closely as possible, styles cur-

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rent in the community so that women temporarily in institutions can feel that they are still part of this world. Designing and making the clothing worn in the institution ought to be part of the training program. The women can learn not only to operate the machines for manufacturing, but also to select materials, colors, and patterns. These are skills which can be put to work in the community when responsibility must be assumed for clothing a family.

Conditions for a Good Corrections Program

Having outlined the kind of program which ought to exist in correctional institutions for women, we may well ask the question: Can we now predict success for the women under such a program? Of course, we cannot. Because we do not know exactly what produces antisocial behavior in human beings, we cannot prescribe the exact treatment which will prevent or cure it. Scientific research, experience, and observation have convinced us that, just as many factors produce an antisocial personality, so many factors are involved in its treatment. We cannot group individuals together and say, "These have all been produced by exactly the same process." Nor can we select groups and say, "This group will succeed and this one will fail after they leave us." We simply do not have enough knowledge of our own selves. We can, in individual cases, "look at the record" and say, "This woman will probably succeed, that one may well fail." Even these predictions are only good guesses.

Continuous, dynamic research must go on in all phases of correctional work. Only by careful, scientific study can we increase our understanding of the causation of antisocial behavior, devise new methods of prevention and treat-

ment, and evaluate the effectiveness of our present methods.

In order that the institutional program achieve maximum results, a good aftercare program (usually in the form of parole) is essential to help carry institution-acquired skills into the community life of the offender.

I have outlined a program for the care and rehabilitation of women offenders, one which penologists now advocate and which, in varying degrees, is being carried out in our best institutions. It depends upon three basic conditions:

1. Communities must realize that such re-educative care is an expensive process, though not nearly so expensive as would be the failure to provide it. Unless a community really wants such a program and accepts its implications, it will certainly not be forthcoming. In this country every community has the right to make such a choice. No community has the right to pretend it is operating such an institution when it has refused to create one like it or failed to maintain an already existing one.

2. Every correctional institution has to be administered *not* as a single isolated unit but as a link in a chain; the other links either support or entangle the institution's administration. Much has been said in the past about the supportive or obstructive services of the other units in the law enforcement system—police, courts, probation, parole; unless there is intelligent integration of all of these, the correctional institutions see their work made more difficult by both pre- and post-institutional practices that spell defeat in the effort to restore women to useful and law-abiding lives. Help or hindrance can come not only from the other links in the correctional

chain, but also from links in the public administrative chain, such as the civil service, the budgetary department, the purchasing division, and other related services. Unless these departments are in sympathy with the program, they can obstruct it to such a degree that the most competent and determined institution administrator finds himself thwarted and defeated. Interference from these agencies can put a greater cost burden on the taxpayer than would a simpler and more direct program. One sees this often

in the housing of offenders: great, monumental buildings, ill-adapted to their purpose, are erected when much simpler structures would serve better.

3. The institution staff must have high morale that lasts year after year.

Any federal, state, or city administration which brings itself face to face with these far-reaching issues will have seriously tried to return from its correctional institutions women prepared for participation in the responsibilities that result from living in a free world.

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Problems of Women Parolees

MARGARET A. TEACHOUT

Probation-Parole Agent, Division of Corrections, Wisconsin Department of Public Welfare

I RECENTLY heard the story of a woman in a large city who was just learning to drive. Wherever she practiced driving she left a trail of fellow drivers impatient with her frequent and exasperating mistakes. So, at the suggestion of a friend, she attached to the back of her car a large sign reading, "Patience, Woman Driver." The reaction of other drivers was transformed. Instead of anger, they were often helpful, and most exhibited a fine sense of humor combined with caution.

The story impressed me because it occurred to me how appropriate it would be if women parolees could wear such a sign and receive the same considerate treatment as the new woman driver did from the driving community. If only the average citizen would learn to view the woman parolee not only as in need of help, but also as a normal person with difficulties in navigating!

Dependence and Aggression

As a social worker trying to aid women parolees in adjusting to a community setting, I have noticed one trait in particular around which many of their problems center. Most women are, by nature, custom, and cultural training, highly dependent. Society has delegated to women the role of the protected, dependent person in family, marital, and social situations, and women have reacted accordingly. The woman who has had the protection and security of an institutional

setting is, like the male prisoner, faced with anxieties, fears, and problems of return to the community, and needs as much support, encouragement, and backing as possible, particularly in the first month after release. Many a woman I have talked to prior to her release cannot wait for the day when she will leave the institution. Yet after a few days of freedom the same woman, facing the hurdles of re-establishing a home, finding a job, or just facing the community, has longed for her institutional days, feeling unprepared and perhaps unwilling to tackle the task ahead.

When this need for dependence exists, the parole agent assumes great importance in the agent-parolee relationship. If skillfully utilized, it helps to develop a better directed pattern of living. But when its management prevents the parolee from learning to function without casework help, the parole agent has failed. This trait of dependency will be further illustrated later when I discuss specific problems.

There is another characteristic which helps me understand my parolees. Women, particularly parolees on whom pressures are often intense, seem to respond quickly and aggressively to any emotional stimulus. They can be strongly influenced by their reactions to the personalities around them—by parole agent, employer, or friend.

Catherine's story illustrates these two traits. She is a nineteen-year-old who was sentenced to the institution for immoral conduct on numerous occa

sions and complete incorrigibility at home and in the community while on probation. Catherine was paroled over a year ago, but her ability to handle herself in the community has not greatly increased. Despite good intelligence and some social awareness, her dependency needs are so great and her responses to emotion-charged situations in the family, during parole interviews, and in relation to her boyfriend are so quick and aggressive that she is unable to maintain any stability at home, on a job, or in her friendships. She is fearful about making job applications and will not search for work unless accompanied. She resents the authority involved in parole supervision, and, because she is insecure, is ambivalent about the tight controls necessarily established. Her strong feelings of rejection make her respond aggressively to affection from boyfriends and from even those unsuitable friends from whom she manages to get a feeling of acceptance. Despite a poor family situation (her mother is a weak person, incapable of giving her daughter the strength and guidance she needs), she is unable to contemplate any move from her home and her mother.

Casework with Catherine has been an uphill battle not yet won. Because she has been treated inconsistently by her family through the years, her behavior provokes inconsistency from others, including her parole agent. Thus she herself often destroys the secure casework relationship through which she might work out her problems. She identifies me, her parole agent, with the inadequate parent. Yet, coupled with hostility and over-emotional reaction is her dependency and her search for help even in unsatisfactory and unstable relationships.

Some women easily forget the painful aspects of their home situation

while they are in prison, exaggerating and romanticizing their pleasanter memories. The shock of reality which hits such women on release is often so overpowering that it intensifies individual and community problems.

Dolores, a 26-year-old white woman sent to the institution for adultery, is a case in point. Released on parole, she had absconded, only to return to the institution after an absence of over two years. During her second stay in the institution she resumed contact with her legal husband, a Negro, whom she had not seen for several years because she was convinced that the marriage could never work out and that a divorce was necessary. He constantly demonstrated his interest in her during her second institutional stay and, as time approached for her parole, Dolores became less certain of her intentions regarding him. The security of returning to a home and husband, of being wanted by his family, made it easy for her to forget other, more important factors (particularly since she was a girl with marked feelings of inferiority and strong dependency needs). The concrete plans suggested by her husband sounded much more realistic and secure to her while she was in the institution than any discussion of real problems she had faced at the time she decided to leave her husband.

Dolores did return to her husband. My first contact with her made very clear how unhappy her decision was. Her loneliness was very apparent, and she voiced a longing to return to the familiarity and security of the institution. She felt she was living with a stranger toward whom she felt no affection, but she was determined to stick it out for a while. After less than a month she and her husband separated and divorce proceedings started. Although Dolores completed her parole

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term successfully, thanks mainly to a job which gave her some of the satisfactions she had hoped to find in her marriage, her integration into the community was considerably slowed by the unsatisfactory situation she entered when she first was released.

An extremely self-conscious response to personalities is perhaps partly responsible for the oversensitivity to community feeling which parolees often exhibit. Intensified self-consciousness often temporarily freezes the individual so that she is unable to anticipate calmly attitudes and reactions which are common among outsiders. Newly released parolees have often assured me that when they walk down Main Street everyone there will know by inexplicable means that they have just come from prison. Support, interpretation, and encouragement by the parole agent are always necessary. But first in importance in dealing with this problem is the feeling of acceptance the parolee gets through her relationship to the parole officer. Although the parole agent is not "all things to all people," I suggest that the agent represents the community and community feelings to the parolee. If we can give our clients the feeling that we accept them as individuals, not criminals, and in terms of the future rather than the past, we can induce some optimism in their attitude toward the community. Small things—like taking the parolee out to lunch at a respectable place on her first day out (particularly if she has no family)—let her know that we respect her.

Before we get to the woman parolee's more concrete problems, I must explain something about our Wisconsin parole system so that you know the framework within which I function. Contact with the potential parolee begins as soon as she enters the institution.

We parole agents visit her there monthly, see her family, and make long-term plans with her. Continuity between the institutional program and community adjustment is established by these visits, which the women view as a link with the outside world. A casework relationship is established prior to her release, and this is particularly important when the woman is very dependent.

The Parolee Finds a Job

If a prospective parolee has no home or family to occupy her time after release, the immediate problem is to see her in a job as soon as possible. Up till a short time ago, a job was required before any woman could leave the institution. Most often this meant housework, which provided living arrangements as well as work. In many cases these housework jobs were not good; the woman worked for little or no pay, the family thought of her as a "parolee" and treated her not as an individual but as a special creature. The parolees, anxious for release, accepted anything, and the parole agent usually had to do the best she could with little community support. Today, although housework jobs are still used (presenting many of these problems still), most girls leave without jobs. The change from the day when the parole agent found the job—any job—in advance has been gradual. Now the parolee is guided by casework in her choice and looks for the job herself if possible. True, we still hear the phrase, "My parole officer will get me a job," and some women wish that this were so because they desire the security that such a statement implies and doubt their own ability to find a job. But most have enough pride to want jobs they can get on their own.

When the prospective parolee knows

she will choose her own job, her institutional attitude is no longer one of sarcasm and pessimism about the kind of job in which she will be placed. She becomes interested in the current community job situation and is anxious to learn skills to prepare for a good job. At the institution a variety of vocational training courses are offered. These include waitress and laundry work, power sewing, dress-making, university extension courses in typing and shorthand (and institutional jobs in which to develop and use these skills), plus opportunities to take high school courses. The psychological tests given at the institution to each inmate help us direct and encourage each woman toward the type of training which best suits her.

Facing the prospect of searching for employment is not easy for the parolee, but the job search itself brings community contacts. Although it is hard, it does help the assimilation; the woman is no longer a separate being isolated by her incarceration, but rather part of that flowing mass—unemployed but looking! Once landed, the job is so much dearer to the woman who has gotten it herself. Jobs obtained in this manner often last much longer than those handed to the woman by the parole agent.

Most important to the parolee in regard to the job situation is that she be given support and encouragement plus as much practical advice as possible in regard to such matters as how to apply for a job, what to wear, what kind of attitude to maintain, what questions to anticipate. The parole agent must keep informed about the current job situation and what jobs are available, and have an idea of what kind of skill is required for each. Sometimes we arrange interviews and accompany the girl to the interview, but she and the employer

should decide whether the job is mutually satisfactory. I scale my help according to how dependent and anxious the woman is about applying for jobs; I often drive the woman to an interview but do not accompany her into it.

Although the job may be desirable at first, emotional problems prevent many parolees from maintaining stability, and frequent job changes are the result. The employer doesn't always know of the girl's parole status when he hires her, and this also affects length of time on the job because once an employer learns of the parolee's record he may feel that he cannot allow her to remain. Some employers are aware of the problem and feel a sense of social responsibility in giving the girl a chance to adjust by keeping her on the job, but admit frankly that they do not want a parolee working for them. Finding some excuse for firing the girl (such as the quality of her work) is often crueler than honesty would be. There are many employers who will give a parolee a chance to work; as we improve our community relations, more will join this number. Not many can make allowances for job instability and emotional problems, but for those women capable of working and producing there are usually jobs. I think my most pathetic and unhappy cases have been women whom society denies a suitable job because of past conduct despite every indication from the woman that she wants to work and start a new life. The lack of a job and the lack of acceptance which it implies, combined with an abundance of leisure not wisely used, can do as much to start a woman back on the wrong path as anything I know.

Josephine was one of the women under my supervision who presented a serious problem in regard to the job

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situation. This 29-year-old woman had been sentenced to the institution, approximately three years prior to her parole release, for possession and sale of narcotics. Her case received much publicity at the time of sentencing. Having been institutionalized for such a long period, she was naturally fearful about making job applications and about community reaction. Being an intelligent and, at least on the surface, an aggressively independent person, she wanted no help from me in her job search. She made numerous job applications, but, despite good appearance and ability, obtained no job for some time. Just when she was most discouraged, she found a bookkeeping job in a fairly large organization. Two weeks later, when he learned about her record, her employer got in touch with me. His concern was obvious. He pointed out that his main fear was that Josephine might influence the younger girls with whom she worked. After interpretation from me, and in the interests of social welfare, he agreed to continue her in her job, requesting regular reports from me on her adjustment. Two weeks later she was fired. The employer informed me that she had made mistakes on the job and that she had not improved sufficiently over a thirty-day period. Josephine was quite despondent, feeling that she had put every effort into the job, but had been switched continually to various assignments so that she was required to learn new tasks very rapidly whereas other girls were given longer training periods. She was fired after making four wrong entries. Possibly the pressure she felt to succeed did have a detrimental effect on her efficiency but her learning ability and potential for a job of that type were high enough to make it probable that, had she not been on parole, she might

very well have been retained. Josephine's resulting bitterness about community attitudes did not help in the rehabilitative process.

Not only the employer's but also the parolee's attitude can ruin a job. Again, that oversensitivity characteristic of women parolees and the feeling that if one person finds out about the prison term, everyone will, cause these women difficulties not only on jobs but with their families and socially.

The job situation is only one part of the parole picture. Another is the living situation. With women finding their own jobs and with less use of "live-in" work situations, the problem of finding proper living quarters is greater. Relatives and friends are used when available. A man can often live alone in one or two rooms and adjust, but most women cannot do so happily or with assurance that it is proper. We prefer in any case that they do not live alone, at least at first. Unfortunately we parole agents cannot give them all the time and help they need when first released. Coming from a well-structured group situation, they are perhaps somewhat frightened and lonely and need the support and security of going to a place where there are people who can help because they know parolees and their problems. In Milwaukee there is Friendship House, where women who lack homes, funds, or friends can reside temporarily. We often use this until we can work out with the parolee some more permanent arrangement. In the rural areas some parole agents know families who allow a woman to stay with them until she finds a job and a better living arrangement. In return for room and board the woman does some housework and has time for her search for a job.

Interpretation to Outsiders

Wherever the woman is placed, in her home and at her job, interpretation is necessary. Families must be helped to understand what the woman parolee has experienced and what some of her anxieties and fears will be. The woman in turn must understand too that her family is under pressure and strain. A normal attitude on either side is often difficult to achieve. Many women complain to me that their families are overprotective, at times suspicious, and that it is hard to start out anew because the family refers often to the past. The families in turn complain that the woman is uncommunicative, nervous, and at times unreasonable. Both are reacting to the pressures they feel. The family is usually seeking to avoid any further problems by helping in whatever way they know. The woman parolee is seeking to readjust, but is hindered in doing so by her own fears, self-consciousness, and lack of security. The parole agent who knows from first-hand contact of the woman's institution experience and her feelings and problems outside can use her casework skill to help the individual better understand herself and others. Many problems can be avoided, if, prior to the woman's release, her family and friends are visited and their attitudes toward her are discussed; knowledge of their attitudes thus gained helps in interpreting to the parolee her post-release situation.

Judy's story illustrates this need for work with families and relatives in helping the individual to adjust. Young, very attractive, poised, and intelligent, her delinquencies dated back to juvenile days. Her longing for nice clothes and a "fast crowd," combined with ability to create a favorable impression and her basic instability, led to a multitude of problems: steal-

ing, general incorrigibility, and general disorganization. At the time of parole release her mother and stepfather were still hopeful that Judy could be rehabilitated. She was released on parole to live with her sister. She found work soon and no immediate problems of adjustment were noted. Her stepfather died suddenly; Judy moved in with her mother, who was enthusiastic about the move at first. Although we had attempted to work with the mother prior to the girl's release, little had been accomplished. Problems soon developed. The mother had numerous complaints about Judy's behavior and attitude. She complained that Judy did not bring boyfriends into the house, that she was going out too often and staying out too late, and that at home Judy was disagreeable and flared up at a word. Judy in turn agreed that she kept late hours, but complained that her mother was nervous and irritable because of financial problems and as a result was rude to the girl's boyfriends. The mother said she *did* refer to Judy's past when she was angry, and also compared Judy uncomplimentarily with her father. Both were obviously at fault. Judy's instability was just about matched by her mother's emotional problems. Judy had to try to understand why her mother reacted as she did and to accept some of the blame herself rather than project all of it onto her mother. The mother had to learn to understand Judy's desire to be treated as an individual.

This is the sort of case which points up how dangerous it can be for the parole agent to become too involved in the individual problems of the parolee's family. It is very easy for the parolee then to feel that you are overidentifying with the parents and thus separating yourself too much from her. Our parolees must feel that

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our central interest is in them and *their* adjustment. Referral of the disturbed parent to another agency is advisable if complications develop, but it is more satisfactory if the parole agent can work with family problems influencing the parolee.

Home Visits

Frequent home visits are, I feel, a necessity. Office contacts are useful and have their value, but to understand the individual's problem the parolee must be seen in his own setting. Most of the home visits I make are without appointment. Although there is at least one well-founded argument against such a practice (since it does not respect the individual's right to privacy), I feel that its advantages are far too great for it to be discontinued. The parolee's natural response to the visit, and the unplanned review of momentarily pressing problems which it makes possible, can be most helpful in supervision. Too, one *can* be considerate of the individual even though visiting unannounced, if the officer-parolee relationship preserves in general a respect for individual rights and privacy.

Home visits to the woman raising a family, for whom office visits are impossible, are often the only possible contact; the problem then is how to get the woman away from her home for a peaceful and helpful interview.

The woman parolee without a husband who must provide a home for her children as well as herself represents a double investment in the future for corrections workers. Supervision of these parolees can create a good home for more than one good citizen. The mother usually needs concrete help in setting up her home, in day-to-day problems of child-rearing, and in family management. A good institutional program improves many a

woman's housekeeping standards and general habits, through exposure to better living at the institution and through organized training courses there in household management, child care, etc.

Dress and Grooming

We consider good grooming all important; the women who leave our institution testify to this. They are immaculately and tastefully groomed with clothing provided by the institution. (Funds are provided in the institutional budget; most of the clothes—coats, dresses, and hats—are sewn by the inmates in their courses.) This good grooming accomplishes two things: it impresses the community favorably, and it gives the parolee assurance and confidence to know that she looks well. Although the training in attention to dress may not be practiced for long after release, it is never wasted; these women's problems separate them so far from normal living that the handicap of poor grooming should not be added to their difficulties. The institution's stress on neatness and appropriateness of appearance needs to be reinforced once the woman is in the community. Fortunately most women have pride and a desire to be attractive, but many lack training and good judgment.

The Parolee in the Community

Recreation and general community participation for the woman parolee is often a problem. Many who enter our institutions have only undesirable recreational interests. We hope, of course, to steer the new parolee into better recreational channels, but it is slow and at times discouraging navigation. New group situations are often frightening to them; the physical presence of family members, friends,

and religious and recreational leaders is usually necessary for the parolee's comfort. Timing is important. The parolee must at first go at her own speed; the parole agent must know the individual's ability to withstand pressures. Later there will be a right and wrong time to introduce the idea of new activities.

The woman with a prison record is in many eyes not only unusual but a complete mystery, and community attitudes toward the woman parolee are variable. There are certain kinds of responses, though, which recur. Some people, for instance, think of a woman as dependent and in need of protection, and this general orientation has not prepared them for the malice or criminality of which she may be capable. They tend to be lenient, ready to believe in the woman's expressed desire for reformation and to assume her incapable of further crime. At the other end of the scale of attitudes, there are those who believe that if a woman cannot meet society's demands in conduct, she does not deserve consideration or respect and ought to be treated punitively.

This brings us to the problem of the double standard as it affects the woman on parole. Woman has traditionally been thought of as a passive, nonaggressive creature, full of kindness and sympathy, with no evil or crime in her nature. Social custom has furnished us with very definite ideas on what a woman may or may not do, and parole regulations reflect these notions. Rules are often stricter, supervision closer for the woman parolee. Parole violations for which a male parolee would not suffer, particularly violations of sexual standards, sometimes result in revocation for women parolees. The practical basis for the double standard cannot be

ignored in a parole program. The danger of pregnancy and of a situation in which the woman is unprotected against emotionally, physically, and socially dangerous activities make strict rules of conduct for the woman essential.

Unfortunately it is difficult for a woman parolee to avoid such dangers. There are always people who feel that a girl gone astray, no matter how, is an "easy mark." Jobs and homes are lost because of the man who ventures an indecent proposal to the girl on parole—a discouraging event for the girl trying to start a new life. Many a girl not wholeheartedly sincere, or lacking will power and good judgment, has been easy prey for men who make a good impression but who lack good judgment about a girl already in trouble. In this manner, parole supervision is not only concerned with the girl's attitudes but also with social factors which impinge on her and their control.

We who have never been institutionalized and then released to return to the same community for a new start can hardly realize how huge and insurmountable these problems can seem to the parolee. Although I feel very strongly that much can be accomplished through a good casework relationship between the parolee and the parole agent, I feel even more strongly that explaining the meaning of parole and the individual parolee's problems to the community must be an integral part of any parole program. Perhaps some day the woman parolee beginning a new life *can* be viewed as calmly and considerately as the woman driver, if we who work in the field let the community know what navigating problems to expect and how to chart the course for dealing with them.

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The Police Juvenile Bureau's Job

JEAN SELVIDGE

Policewoman, Crime Prevention Division, Seattle Police Department

HELLO, Miss Pate," the mumbling voice of Jane's mother said into the phone. Miss Pate, a policewoman, recognized the voice and gathered from the slurred alcoholic ramblings at the other end that Janie Smith must have run away again.

Finally interrupting the mother, Miss Pate asked the questions necessary to complete the missing persons report: When was Janie last home? Had she gone to school that day, or the day before? What was she wearing? Did she take any money or extra clothes with her? Had Mrs. Smith called Jane's friends to see whether they had seen or heard from her? Had any boys been to the home, or had Jane received any phone calls just before she left home from persons Mrs. Smith did not know? Had Jane had another argument with her father? Was Mrs. Smith still working (although she wondered how Mrs. Smith could hold down any job for long in the face of the periodic drinking sprees she indulged in)?

Miss Pate pulled the folder on the Smith family from the department files. Jane's own record in this family file was well known to Miss Pate. She had been picked up twice for violating curfew at The Spot, the First Street coffee shop hangout for teen-agers and the motorcycle crowd. She had run away from home twice before, the first time for a couple of days, the second for three days. Would it be four days or a week this time? Her fondness for The Spot

might take her back there before long. Miss Pate called Mary and Pete, who owned The Spot, asking them to give the department a call if Jane showed up. Miss Pate also notified the patrol cars and beat officers in the areas Jane frequented.

She made one last call—to the girls' advisor at the high school, to verify that Jane was not in school. She had cut the last two classes on the day she was reported missing. No, the school had not noticed any strange cars around. No, the school advisor had not observed Jane talking with any particular group. And no, they had not heard any rumors that Jane was planning to run away. But they would start looking around and asking questions to see whether they could get any information, and they would call the police if they received any leads.

Miss Pate decided she would phone Mrs. Smith the next morning (hoping she would be sober, or at least soberer than she had been when she reported Jane missing).

Jane never seemed to get into trouble when she ran away from home. She generally spent a night with one friend, then another night with someone else; or else she slept in the back seat of some boy's car. Her known friends were checked and accounted for, ruling out the possibility that she might have run off with someone.

Whom had Jane been going around with? It was four months since police had last been in contact with her. The return call from the girls' advisor gave

Miss Pate her first clue—the advisor had heard that Jane was hanging around with a group from East Side High. A call to the school revealed that a girl answering Jane's description had been there the day before, in a car with several other teen-agers.

Miss Pate asked the night crew to check The Spot especially for Jane, and to get out to the East Side district and drop in on some of the coffee shops there.

Nothing turned up the first night. The next morning Miss Pate talked to Mrs. Smith. Fortunately, Mrs. Smith was less tearful, more sober, and far more coherent than on the previous day. But she had no information to indicate any particular reason for Jane's leaving home again.

Miss Pate picked up bits and pieces of information on Jane's whereabouts during the next two days. Fitted together, they spelled out the usual story: she was in town, but wandering around. If only Miss Pate could get out of her office—away from the press of other runaways, the neglect cases, the shoplifters, and the morals cases to which she had been assigned—she could probably find Jane.

That night the beat men found her. Jane *had* dropped into The Spot. Shortly afterward the officers had dropped by, too.

Jane told the officers she would not return home. Mrs. Smith, notified that Jane had been found, came directly to the station. She wanted Jane to come right home with her. She would quit drinking. She would try to get her husband to quit, too. She would stay home; she wouldn't even look for a job, so she'd be home every day when Jane got back from school. She would try to talk Mr. Smith into allowing Jane to bring her friends home. She would have a talk with the

girls' advisor and try to work out some special program for Jane. There was, in fact, nothing in this world Mrs. Smith wouldn't do for Jane, if only the girl would come home with her.

Mrs. Smith had made the same promises before—when Jane was first picked up for violating curfew and had told policewomen why she was unhappy at home, and after both previous runaways.

Miss Pate knew she had. But, even more important, so did Jane. The tragedy was that Mrs. Smith always broke her promises—and Jane knew it.

Had Jane made any particular preparation to run away this time? No, the girl said, she just got bored in school, was talking with these kids, and they decided to go riding around. Where had she been while she was gone? She had spent the first night with Mary, who attended East Side High School. Mary's mother was home and knew Jane was there. The girls had told her merely that Jane was an East Side girl and that the two wanted to spend the night together. Mary's mother never thought to check with Jane's mother or question their story. The second night Jane slept in the back seat of a boy's car. The boy had stayed in his own home; the car was parked in the alley behind his house.

Did Jane know why she ran away from home? Actually, she did not. Her stock answer to all questions was, "I don't know." Was Jane happy to see her mother? Yes, she said she was. Did Jane think her mother might have worried about her? Yes, she figured her mother might have, but she didn't think about it while she was away from home. These and countless other questions Jane answered. Finally: What did she want to do? She really didn't know.

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What to Do with Jane?

What was to be done with Jane? That was the question Miss Pate had to answer. Release the girl to her mother after counseling and advice? Detain her? Refer her to juvenile court?

If Miss Pate released Jane to her home in lieu of detention, with the understanding that a court referral would be made by the police department, would the girl remain home long enough for the court to take action? Appointments with the Family Service Agency had been made before for Mrs. Smith, but she kept only the first one. (There was the slight but lingering odor of liquor on Mrs. Smith's breath. Did this mean she was coming off her last spree, or starting a new one?)

Then, Jane had admitted that she had drunk beer one night. Liquor enforcement agents would have to be told.

Miss Pate had to check, too, with Mary's mother, to see whether Jane had stayed where she said she had her first night away from home.

The Smith family record in police files would also figure in Miss Pate's decision. It went back some ten years before Jane's first curfew violation, beginning with neighborhood complaints that Mrs. Smith did not supervise the children properly and that they ran around the neighborhood in filthy, insufficient clothing and did not appear to be properly fed. There were reports that Mr. and Mrs. Smith had left the children alone and were out drinking in the neighborhood tavern. Policewomen and officers had more than once canvassed the bars and taverns to find the Smiths and persuade them to go home and care for their children. Then there was the story of Jane's older sister recorded in

the Smith file; her actions were similar to Jane's except that Jane's delinquency contact with police commenced at an earlier age than her sister's. The family was known to the juvenile court as well as to the police.

More than once, the uniformed officers had jokingly commented to Miss Pate, "When is this kid going to learn to stay out of the dives she goes into?" The policewoman knew they had no personal animosity toward Jane, but they were getting a little tired of Jane's hanging around their beat—no proper place, they knew, for a fifteen-year-old girl.

Juvenile Police Officer's Role

In their dual roles of police officer and juvenile worker, juvenile aid bureau police go through this "screening process" in a substantial percentage of the year's total of 1,500,000 juvenile cases.

As a police officer, Miss Pate had taken an oath to assume definite and specific obligations to the city and its citizens. As a juvenile officer, handling all runaway or delinquent cases like Jane's, she had also assumed a specific obligation to each child and each parent with whom she came in official contact.

She is responsible, as a policewoman, for crime repression and prevention, for the detection and apprehension of criminals, for the recovery of stolen property, and for the enforcement of regulatory measures.

In her role of juvenile officer, Miss Pate had to consider the individual child from the standpoint of the offense which brought the matter to the attention of the police, and then relate that offense to the child's personality. She had then to assess the probable influence of the social and family milieu in which the child had been

immediately when a girl is brought to the station for questioning or taken into custody. As a last resort in locating the parents, the district patrol car should be sent to the home with a message for the parents to get in touch with the policewoman. If the girl prefers that one parent rather than another be contacted, or if she wants to talk to one, her preference should be honored. But if the policewoman talks to one parent alone, he or she should be advised to discuss the situation with the other. In this way, parents can be assured of a full understanding of the details of the incident which brought the girl to the station. It is inexcusable for any girl to be held for several hours before parents are notified.

Secondly: The policewoman must always trust to the capacity of the parents and their child to understand her suggestions and to use them—which obligates her to phrase her advice in language the family understands and to make sure that it fits the family's needs.

It is important, too, that the seriousness of the incident which brought the girl to the policewoman's attention be fully discussed. (Of course, when the girl is released the family should be encouraged to create a better and less problematic situation.) The policewoman may, however, have to become an arbitrator—for example, when the parents display harsh feelings against their daughter because she has done something which they feel is socially unpardonable and which will prevent them from ever facing their friends again. Parents can take things too seriously.

Then, parents' responsibility for their daughter's actions needs discussion; mother and father should be encouraged to overcome weak points

in family life. They should be urged to give closer supervision so that they know where their children are, and with whom; the girl should be able to bring her friends home.

New policewomen are frequently amazed by one situation which repeats itself over and over. Patrol officers will encounter two girls on a downtown street early in the morning. They notify the parents that the girls are being questioned (usually for curfew violation). The mother (or father) says, in great surprise, "But that couldn't possibly be! Janie is spending the night with Suzie." A phone call to Suzie's house evokes a similar response: "Impossible! Suzie is spending the night with Janie." But neither Jane's nor Suzie's mother had bothered to call the other to discuss the girls' plan. The parents had never even tried to meet one another to find out just what kind of home Jane (or Suzie) was spending the night in; neither knew what type of friend their daughter associated with.

As simple a suggestion as "Spend more time with your daughter" or "Do things as a group" can help the family get along better. If a girl complains that she doesn't have enough to do, the parents may be doing too much for her; she may need definite jobs around the home.

The parents ought to be told, if they are not already aware of them, what community services are available to them. Do they know that the police are at their service twenty-four hours a day? Do they know what clubs and social agencies provide counseling and recreation for girls? They should be urged to join parent-teacher groups and to attend open house and other school programs in which their daughter takes part. If they think their daughter has a school problem, they

should be informed about school counseling and guidance facilities and given the names of advisors.

Most police cases can be closed after a talking-out session like the one here described, during which the parents are encouraged to meet the child's basic need for love, recognition, security, and new experiences. But Miss Pate and her fellow policewomen must always be on the watch for more serious, smoldering situations which have flared up in some delinquent act and which will not be tranquilized without a referral to the right social agency or the juvenile court, early enough to save the community and the family much grief.

The Sexual Delinquent

Sexually delinquent girls require special handling. The policewoman who extracts the admission of sexual delinquency from a girl by means of confidential "buddy-buddy" promises—"It won't hurt if you tell me; I won't tell another soul about it, your mother or dad or anyone"—is unfair to the girl, her parents, and any agency which may work with the girl in the future. Any referral which omits such information is less than useless to a social agency or court trying to rehabilitate the girl.

Even more important in cases of sexual delinquency is the girl's pattern of life. Moralizing on the "sins" of a loose sexual life to a sixteen-year-old whose mother has lived first with one man, then with another, for as long as the girl can remember, is a bark up the wrong tree. One of the most difficult things for a new policewoman to learn is that many mothers are honest (albeit naïve) when they ask, "But what's wrong with having a boy friend and letting him board with me? He's helping to pay the bills."

He is probably doing exactly that, and may, moreover, be keeping the family off public assistance rolls. The mother may be giving the girl all the love and affection of a "model" mother, although her behavior is not always what most of society considers socially acceptable. Call it what you will, it is a way of life, and no brief lecture from a policewoman is going to change it in five minutes or an hour.

The Runaway

Running away, as Jane did, may be caused by obvious reasons, but it is always an offense requiring much looking into by the policewoman confronted with it. The runaway girl is a very frequent case for the Miss Pates of the police department. The girl seldom runs away as a lark; something in her home situation, in school, or in some phase of her life, is disturbing enough to push her to escape by running away. The policewoman must, either through careful questioning or, preferably, through friendly conversation, find out what incident or situation led her to it. The assumption that the girl is merely seeking adventure is usually fallacious. Every runaway is a flag of danger which can't be ignored; the girl may have had something to run away from.

Often the policewoman must intuitively guess the girl's thoughts. She must often lead with questions about the girl's home and school situation—without planting ideas in her mind—to dig out the root of her troubles.

Yet the policewoman must be wary as well as sympathetic, because a girl may trump up a story to cover some act of her own. Careful treading is especially necessary when a girl asserts that indecent approaches were made by her father or stepfather, which

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is a frequent reason given for running away. A medical examination will often disprove the girl's accusations.

In most jurisdictions, permission of the juvenile court is necessary to administer a lie detector test to a juvenile. It should be administered only after the girl has been thoroughly advised on its particulars—how and why it is given. When a man is charged with felonious assault, the prosecuting authorities often ask that the lie detector test be used. Although the test is not always conclusive, a girl faced with the reading it gives sometimes retracts her original statements.

Police Work Is Not Casework

The police cannot undertake the long-term casework necessary in cases of sexual delinquency and serious runaways. Emergencies make up the caseloads of the police; their urgency and frequency preclude any such long-term efforts; in any event, casework is outside the scope of their duties. In some areas, smaller law enforcement agencies may be forced to assume unusual responsibilities in supervising a girl or a family over a period of time. These departments should, however, persuade the community to establish the proper agencies outside police jurisdiction to handle such matters.

Other Agencies

The policewoman or juvenile officer who fails to recognize the agencies in the community that can serve both the department and the child is failing completely in properly carrying out her duties.

School: Primary among community agencies on which the police department should draw is the school. No matter how talented the policewoman is in developing rapport with a child, no single contact or two-hour inter-

view can reveal as much information as several years of contact has furnished to the school counselor or advisor. Police departments should develop a friendly but confidential relationship with the schools. Omens of potential delinquency in a child are often noted by school officials long before police contact occurs: the girl cuts classes, becomes truant, goes with a crowd of older boys out of school or with an undesirable element in it. The counselor may have started to correct a predelinquent pattern. The insight gained from daily contact in school can greatly assist the police officer in deciding proper disposition.

This close working relationship is a joint responsibility. Both police and school officials should agree that all contacts will be strictly confidential. Where police officers feel that a teacher will display the child to the class as a horrible example, they cannot be blamed for not working with school personnel.

But the police department which thinks that the school has nothing to offer is sorely mistaken. No authoritarian approach to the school—which unfortunately too many have tried—will work. It can only lead to failure in serving police and community aims.

Social Agencies: As essential as police-school cooperation is a cordial relationship with social agencies. No police department can function in the prevention field without the aid of other community groups. The police department which establishes a recreation program without the collaboration and support of the city's public recreation personnel is stumbling blindly outside its own field.

It works the other way too. Police patrol the streets twenty-four hours a day; they see many facets of the city, and often become aware of problems

before other agencies have seen them. They can point out these trouble spots to the proper agency; community planning is the only way to solve many problems.

Juvenile Court: A third agency with which the police *must* have a working relationship is the juvenile court and probation department. To establish such a relationship, both the police and the court ought to have clearly defined statements of policies, in writing, available to every police officer. In large metropolitan areas, assigning police liaison officers to the court makes for prompt handling of juvenile cases before the court.

In Jane's case, detention was clearly necessary. Her home life was so preponderantly bad for her, and her own actions showed such lack of self-control, that she had to be removed from her home. (She had already been on probation to the court. Miss Pate had worked with the probation officer, who asked that the policewoman keep her eyes and ears open to Jane's activities. But the family had simply not fulfilled their obligations during probation.) After the liquor case was disposed of, arrangements were made through the juvenile court to place Jane in a cottage-type school for girls which would provide parent-like supervision for her.

Detention of young people should be carefully planned by all police agencies, in accord with juvenile court policy. NPPA has established uniform standards for the detention of children, defining both the use to which detention should be put, and the sort of care to be given to children in detention. Shelter care, rather than the physical confinement of detention, is to be given to children who are destitute, without supervision, in need of protective custody, or in a home

inadequate or unsuitable for return. Detention is necessary for a child when release means further delinquency or physical or moral danger to the child or others in the community; when it appears likely that if not detained prior to the court's hearing on the offense, the child will run away from the jurisdiction of the court; when his previous record or the gravity of his offense is such that release would endanger public welfare; when his offense is serious enough to require very complete police investigation.

The victim of a burglary is interested not only in the apprehension of the boy or girl who broke into his home or store, but in the return of his stolen merchandise, clothes, or jewelry. The victim expects the police department to recover as much of the stolen property as possible after it has apprehended the suspect. This often takes considerable work by the police. Releasing the child in the face of the possibility that he may destroy the property or evidence is not fair to the community.

When a jeweled cashmere sweater has been taken from Mrs. Jones's home by a neighborhood girl, Mrs. Jones is generally more interested in the return of her sweater than in anything the police officer may do on behalf of the girl who stole it. And she will continually call the police until the sweater is returned.

Court officers and workers must recognize this police responsibility to the community as a whole. Fortunately this has become less of a problem in most places because the working relationship of courts and law enforcement agencies has improved immeasurably in the past few years.

This improved relationship has come about in large part by better mutual understanding of the problems and

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workings of both agencies. It has been encouraged by the increased demand for better trained and better qualified persons in the police field, particularly in juvenile bureaus. Some departments, notably those of Detroit and Seattle, require that policewomen have a university degree and give a rigid civil service examination to applicants.

Increased professionalization of police officers should continue to foster this relationship. Many departments send juvenile officers through special training courses, such as the three-month course of the Delinquency Control Institute at the University of Southern California, which has done much to increase police efficiency in the juvenile field.

Police, more than any other one agency, are the shock troops in any delinquency prevention program. Encouragingly, many departments now

recognize this front-line position by assigning qualified police officers, alert to their important responsibility to work in problem areas of their city, where they can help nip potential delinquency in the bud. Special daily and nightly patrols and extensive school programs (in which policemen and women conduct class discussions of police and juvenile problems, and work with student councils) are some of the means by which police maintain good relations with the community's young people.

Police juvenile bureau officers, in their work of preventing and controlling juvenile offenses, need a broad knowledge of the law, perseverance, insight into the workings of the teenage mind, friendly understanding (rather than an authoritarian attitude), and patience—to mention only a few qualifications. It is a large order.

Girl Repeaters

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WILL a girl arrested once continue in delinquency? The major finding of a study of 1,082 girls and 3,451 boys "interviewed on complaint" by the Youth Bureau of the Detroit Police Department was that conditions in the home, and especially the existence of a feud between a girl and her mother, are more determining factors for continued delinquency after one arrest for girls than for boys. Below is an account of this research project and its results. It is one of many resulting from ten years of cooperation between the Youth Bureau of the Detroit Police Department and Wayne State University.

The facts about girls reported in this article are based on the 1952 files of the Girls Behavior Section, attached at that time to the Youth Bureau.¹ To this section were referred the cases of all girls under seventeen against whom complaints of delinquency were made. (Missing girls were dealt with by the Women's Division of the Detroit Police Department; this divided jurisdiction has been abolished, and the Women's Division now handles all work with girls.)

This research project aimed at finding clues to the answers for three inter-related questions:

1. What facts, available to the police or others with at least equal training, are different for girls having only one police contact from those for girls repeatedly in difficulties?

2. How do these distinguishing characteristics of girl offenders differ from a similar list for boys?

3. What do the answers to the first two questions suggest as to special ways in which girls become delinquent, and programs for preventing or treating female delinquency?

At the time the facts used in this article were being gathered, the routine handling of both boys and girls taken into custody by the police in Detroit was the same. They were promptly turned over to Youth Bureau officers who investigated the circumstances of the charge against the youngster, interviewed the accused juvenile, and usually talked with his or her parents. The information gathered in this way was recorded on a "history sheet," which included facts or ratings on the home situation, the youngster's reactions, his or her attitudes toward school, relationships with other young people, neighborhood conditions, and leisure-time activities.

The information on these sheets was coded and transferred to punch cards, which made it possible to prepare as many statistical tables as were desired. For this project, the total group of 1,082 girls was first divided into the 427 who were repeaters and the 655 for whom the police records showed only a single contact. For every item of in-

¹ The author wishes to express appreciation for the availability of these records to the following past and present members of the Youth Bureau: Inspector Francis Davey, Inspector Ralph Baker, Sergeant Elizabeth Grindle, and Sergeant Mervin Roberts. Frank Saunders performed the detailed statistical computations.

formation on the history sheets a tabulation was prepared comparing the repeaters with the nonrepeaters. A statistical formula was then applied to locate those differences for which there was a forty-to-one chance that a second study on a similar group would give similar results. These, with their probable significance, are discussed below.

Prior to this study of girl repeaters, the same techniques had been used in a study of boy repeaters. Therefore we can point out factors which are the same for both sexes and comment upon items linked to repeating among girls but not among boys, and the other way round.

Causation and Linkage

The findings reported below indicate that it is essential to make a distinction between a factor which is a *cause* of misconduct and one which is *linked* to repeating. It is entirely possible that one set of circumstances may produce personal characteristics leading to juvenile misconduct, and that either a different set or one subgroup of the original combination may make for continuation of the behavior patterns.

Family Attitudes

In the interview by the police officer, the young people were asked to state their attitudes toward their homes and their parents. The tendency was to give answers that were either noncommittal or loyal. Among girls, open expression of dislike was much more frequent than among boys. It was given by over one-fourth of the repeaters but by only one-sixth of the nonrepeaters.

Among boys in trouble with the police, repeaters (and only a small minority of them) tended to say that they liked their mothers, but made no mention of their fathers. By contrast, the combination of attitudes linked to

repeating among girls involved actively stated dislike of the mother. This was found among 5 per cent of the repeaters and among only half as many nonrepeaters. Many fewer girls than boys in both groups—repeaters and nonrepeaters—said they liked both parents. For boys, attitude toward the father was the key predictor of future delinquency; for girls, the mother was the important parent.

An interesting clue to home atmosphere appeared in answers to questioning as to the method parents used to give money to their boys and girls. The bulk of girls received money when they asked for it. With boys, formal allowances or pay for work done at home was comparatively more popular. Linked to repeating for both sexes was the answer that they "never received any money" from their parents. This reply was given by 16 per cent of our girl repeaters, but by only 8 per cent of the nonrepeaters.

The police officers rated the attitude taken by the parents toward the officers during their interviews with parents. The majority of parents of both boys and girls appeared cooperative. For the girl repeaters, 11 per cent were rated "indifferent," as contrasted with only 4 per cent so rated among nonrepeaters. For boys, active parent antagonism toward the police (involving efforts to protect the boy from them) was also linked to repeating. As we shall see, quite often the girl's parents brought the charges against her. If the parents were angry at all, the boys' parents were likely to vent their ire on the police; the girls' parents, on the girl.

One of the questions exploring home atmosphere asked when the mother was at home. This item was linked only to girls' recidivism. If the mother was "never" at home the girl was more

likely to keep getting into trouble. Homes in which the mother was "never" at home were found among 14 per cent of the girl repeaters, 8 per cent of the girl nonrepeaters, and 8 per cent of all boys, whether or not they were repeaters.

The answers to questions about the extent to which parents participated in their children's recreation distinguished boys from girls in an interesting manner. The answer which appeared more often among girl repeaters was "seldom"; among boy repeaters, "never." It therefore appears to be true that parents often totally neglect a boy, but rarely a girl. (Relative neglect, of course, does as much damage as total neglect.)

The question of the relationship of the girls to the adults in the household also yielded results that invite speculation. The girl repeaters more frequently came from boarding homes, homes in which the father alone was present, or where the mother had remarried. Percentages of nonrepeaters were high among those children who lived with both parents, or with a father and a stepmother. Interestingly, the home consisting solely of a mother seemed to spell trouble for boys. In interviews with girls, it was noted that the remarriage of the mother often led to active feuding, not so much with the stepfather as with the mother. However, there were cases where the girl provoked conflict with the stepfather.

Individual and Social Characteristics

The offenses charged against the girls were indicative of repeating. Incurability and truancy from home were frequent among repeaters; the charge of larceny or sex offense was

more common among nonrepeaters. In both incurability and home truancy, parents are the complainants. It is the high tension present within the home that typifies the girl who is a repeater. For boys, there were very few cases in which the parents took the initiative in securing police action. Among boy repeaters, the most frequent charges are several forms of theft: larceny, auto theft, and breaking and entering.

For repeaters of both sexes, the pattern of relations with age mates is the same. The repeater tends to be a member of a regular group which engages in organized theft or in other "perverse" behavior. Thus, 18 per cent of the girl repeaters, but only 11 per cent of the nonrepeaters, were reported to be members of regular groups or definite gangs. These groups were divided into two kinds—"rambunctious" and "orderly." In the "rambunctious" groups or gangs were 63 per cent of the girl repeaters and 56 per cent of the nonrepeaters.

In the many studies based on police statistics, one intriguing item was the relation between police-estimated intelligence and measured I.Q. Clearly, a policeman's snap judgment cannot approach a clinically obtained I.Q. in accuracy; we raised the question, "How close do they come?" Investigation showed that the police judgment of boys' intelligence and the measured I.Q. of these boys were close; the total group of those classed as "below average" is, for the most part, ten or more I.Q. points below the group classed as "average" (for specific individuals, gross errors of estimate are made).

We also investigated the connection between low intelligence and repeating among boys and girls. For the boys' group, low intelligence was a highly

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predictive factor for repeating (hence, the police estimate of intelligence was useful in predicting repetition of delinquency); among girls, we discovered that low mentality as estimated by police was also a predictive factor in repeating, but not as highly predictive as among boys. The figures of linkage for the girls were: 22 per cent of the repeaters rated "below average," 17 per cent of the nonrepeaters so rated. "Above-average" ratings occurred in 9 per cent of the nonrepeaters, but in only 4 per cent of the repeaters.

As might be expected, both boys and girls were likely to be repeaters if the school situation was unsatisfactory for them. That it was just that is indicated by the fact that the number of girl repeaters was high among those who had quit school, had been placed in special classes, did not like school, were not friendly to teachers, were not friendly with classmates, and were receiving below-average marks. For girls, we found that among repeaters, 14 per cent were not attending school; among nonrepeaters, 9 per cent were not. Of those in school, 64 per cent of the nonrepeaters said they liked school; only 47 per cent of the repeaters liked it. Friendly attitudes toward teachers were expressed by 65 per cent of the nonrepeaters and by only 53 per cent of the repeaters. Friendly relationships with classmates prevailed for 83 per cent of the nonrepeaters and 76 per cent of the repeaters. Marks that were average or above were earned by 66 per cent of the nonrepeaters and 53 per cent of the repeaters. Although only 6 per cent of the repeaters had been placed in special classes (mostly for the mentally retarded), the percentage of nonrepeaters was even smaller.

In attitude toward adult neighbors, the nonrepeaters tended to be friendly

(21 per cent of them expressed this attitude); the girl repeaters, indifferent (in 31 per cent of the total number).

Age and sexual development were more advanced for the girl repeaters, most of whom were in the fourteen-to-sixteen age range and were rated, on the basis of appearance, in early adolescence. This rating was given by the policewomen to 64 per cent of the repeaters and 57 per cent of the nonrepeaters. The tally of ages showed that 80 per cent of the repeaters and 71 per cent of the nonrepeaters were over fourteen.

An interesting contrast between boys and girls was found in the rating of appearance. Many boys repeatedly in trouble with the police gave an impression of slovenliness. By contrast the girl repeaters were generally rated as fastidious or overdressed. In fact, policewomen described 59 per cent of the girl repeaters and 52 per cent of the nonrepeaters in this way.

In preferences for leisure pursuits, the girl repeaters tended to concentrate in two groups: those who had no favorite sport or hobby, and those interested in dancing. (In the earlier study, boy repeaters fell often into the do-nothing group.) In the total group giving no sport or hobby were 19 per cent of the girl repeaters and 14 per cent of the nonrepeaters. The comparable figures for dancing were 28 (repeaters) and 26 per cent (nonrepeaters).

On two items involving ratings of attitudes or personality, the boy and girl repeaters were similar. Rated as being neither honest nor responsive were 46 per cent of the boy repeaters and 40 per cent of the nonrepeating boys. Girls classed as quarrelsome or mischievous were 48 per cent of the repeaters and 37 per cent of the nonrepeaters.

Economic Factors

The information on housing conditions turned up by our research project is, on its face, deceptive—if not considered in the light of extrastatistical facts. Thus, among the comparatively few girls from better circumstances, repeating rates were high. But when a girl gets in trouble, home conditions are quite potent factors. We know that the personality or family attitudes which produce delinquency in a girl from a good neighborhood must be serious and deeply rooted, and are therefore likely to produce repeating because high social-economic status is only rarely the background for delinquency. This gives rise to the statistical showing that whereas boys from overcrowded homes tended to be repeaters, girls coming from homes where there were two or more rooms per person formed a proportion of repeaters unduly large in relation to total figures on social-economic causation of delinquency. Eleven per cent of the repeaters, as contrasted with 6 per cent of the nonrepeaters, came from such large houses. Further light was thrown by the fact that although equal proportions of repeaters and nonrepeaters came from substandard homes, 16 per cent of the girl repeaters but only 9 per cent of the nonrepeaters came from less dilapidated homes which needed repairs.

To complete the statistical picture of the contrast between girl repeaters and boy repeaters, it should be noted that several factors which were true for boys did not appear with statistical reliability for girls. These included all items reflecting direct economic pressure.

Findings on these items were paradoxical. Although direct economic pressures were more closely linked to

boys' repeating, the economic pressures on girls were worse than those on boys. This can be illustrated with the most objective of the measures: the family's ownership of a car. For boy repeaters, 51.2 per cent of the families of boy repeaters did not own a car; for nonrepeaters, 42.7 per cent. Among girls, car-owning families made up 52.1 per cent of the repeater group and 50.3 per cent of the nonrepeaters. Other socioeconomic indices behaving in this fashion (that is, linked closely to recidivism for boys only) were:

1. Possession of less recreational equipment than playmates.
2. Living in a housing project.
3. Living in an area rated by police as "below average."
4. Having a family income rated low by police officers.

This same linkage showed up on items designed to reflect family tensions. Thus, for example: among boy repeaters' families, 15.4 per cent were reported as married but living apart; for nonrepeaters, 11.3 per cent were so reported. For girls, repeater and nonrepeater figures were identical: 16.2 per cent. Additional items bearing out this trend in family situation as related to delinquency repetition were:

1. Presence of father in the home.
2. Expressed antipathy to father.
3. Reported intensity of family quarreling.
4. Expressed antipathy to step-father.
5. Youth living with relatives other than parents.
6. Youth living with mother alone.
7. Parents seeking to absolve themselves of guilt in interviews with police.

A number of other items, not related to the above clusters, distinguished boy repeaters from nonrepeaters but

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did not distinguish between the two groups of girl offenders. These were:

1. Youngster rated "small for age."
2. Church attendance reported as irregular (less than once a week).
3. Preference for going to shows as leisure-time pursuit.
4. Nonparticipation in organized youth groups.
5. Youngster does no chores around home.
6. Youngster had part-time work doing odd jobs, rather than having a newspaper route. (Very few girls held part-time jobs.)

Boy and Girl Repeaters

Is there anything in what we have said so far that indicates a distinctively feminine pattern of repeating juvenile misconduct? A few facts do stand out. One is the relatively greater significance of mothers in the lives of girl offenders. A second is the high proportion of charges brought by parents of

girls. A third is the pattern built around dancing and peer groups. Boys headed for repeated trouble tend to clash with the adult world outside the home and to become more involved in thefts; girls likely to repeat their offenses clash directly with their parents, are more affected by relationships within the home (particularly those involving their mothers), and have trouble in school. Girls' repeating, we found, is linked to a more narrow range of factors than boys' repeating.

What are the practical implications of these findings? We can say, at least, that services of a casework nature designed to reduce tensions in the home would be more likely to reduce girls' delinquency than would group-work treatment. And we can also state that group work, already favored by many delinquency prevention programs for boys, is the sort of program which is most effective in keeping boys out of recurrent trouble with the law.

Shoplifting: Its Symbolic Motivation*

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IT is estimated that 100,000 thefts a week are committed in the United States, with an average loss of about \$15 a theft. The value of goods stolen reaches a yearly total of \$75,000,000. In a recent twelve-month period in New York City twenty-nine stores apprehended 7,000 thieves, some shoplifters, the rest dishonest employees.¹

However, less than 10 per cent of those apprehended can be considered as professional thieves who steal as their means of livelihood. Less than 3 per cent steal for material gain in the sense that they take the stolen property for their own use. The remaining 87 per cent steal because of some emotional difficulty. A study of the records of those apprehended for shoplifting shows that one out of every four is a repeater.²

Because of this last fact a pilot project was undertaken to determine whether, in addition to the increased mental and emotional ease of the subject, treatment of the offender was practical in terms of eliminating repetition and thereby cutting future losses by approximately one-fourth.

The program developed from a somewhat unusual source. The author had been called on occasion as a consultant by a New York store to ad-

minister lie-detection tests to shoplifters who had been apprehended. The purpose of the test was not to establish guilt, which was already admitted, but to check the completeness of the subject's confession and to determine the extent of her past stealing.

Before many cases had been handled in this manner, the manager of the protection division changed his interest gradually but steadily from "How much?" to "Why?" Subsequently, when persons were apprehended in whom there seemed to be no obvious motive for stealing, such as personal use or gain from sale of the article, it was suggested that they consult professional help. Many were referred to the author. Because some considered the visit to the psychologist an alternative to legal prosecution, the following routine was established. No fee was accepted for the initial visit. During this visit, after a summary of the facts and a brief personal history were obtained, a plan was outlined for the subject. This included a thorough psychological examination with a battery of tests including figure drawing, Rorschach, and the Thematic Apperception Test. The subject was told that, depending upon the results of the examination, appropriate recommendations would be made, with referral to other sources where indicated. It was stressed that the decision to return or not was entirely up to her and that no pressure would

* Reprinted from *The Journal of Social Therapy*, April, 1955.

¹ Sargent J. Curtis, Address to Store Management Group, National Retail Dry Goods Association, New York, January, 1953.

² *Ibid.*

be brought by the store if she did not wish to continue. Fees for the psychological examination and any subsequent visits were discussed.

In a period of five years about eighty shoplifters were referred. Of these, sixty-five carried through to the point of making the initial visit and of these slightly less than half returned for testing and continued treatment. All were females, ranging in age from fifteen to sixty-three, with the majority between eighteen and twenty-five. They were about evenly divided in terms of marital status. The number of return visits varied from a single visit to regular weekly visits over a period of a year. The average number of visits per client was eight. Two of the subjects were patently psychotic and were referred to psychiatrists; one accepted the referral and voluntarily entered a psychiatric hospital, but the other refused. Of the remainder whose test patterns showed no indications of psychosis, the basic motivation fell about evenly into four categories. We are speaking here of the primary motivation of the shoplifter in each case, which was not the only factor involved. These categories were:

1. Stealing as symbolic sexual gratification.
2. Stealing as a means of gaining status or acceptance.
3. Stealing as a means of satisfying an unconscious need for humiliation and punishment.
4. Stealing as a means of gaining revenge against the parents by bringing disgrace upon the family name.

In a few of the cases the problem was so close to the surface that the subject was able to gain insight after one or two interviews. In others it was a deep-seated, long-standing difficulty and required prolonged treatment.

1. Symbolic Sexual Gratification

Our first illustrative case is a housewife, age about thirty; she had two children and a husband with a good business. No financial need existed in this case. The woman was apprehended with a \$90 jacket. There had been several previous instances of shoplifting.

It was brought out during the treatment that, just previous to each shoplifting instance, she had experienced sexual temptation in some form of approach which, if followed through, would have led to infidelity. She had not given in to these feelings, but was aware that she had wanted to. In the first instance a few years before, she received a letter from a girlhood acquaintance with a glowing account about a doctor who had been a boy friend of the subject and whom she had almost married. After reading the letter, she went into a reverie, thinking how she had always wanted to marry a doctor, wondering what it would have been like to be married to him. There was a strong feeling of guilt for this fantasied infidelity. Two days later she stole a record album.

On another occasion the superintendent of the apartment house where she lived made a mild approach. Hearing that she was going to be downtown on a given day, he said: "I am going to be downtown. Why not meet me for lunch?" She immediately read meaning into it, felt uneasy about it, and that day stole a hat.

Several months later a friend of a divorcee who lived across the hall from her called her on the phone. It was a rather obvious proposition. However, she could not say "no" outright. She hedged a bit, but finally terminated the conversation. Two

days later she stole several pieces of costume jewelry.

Just previous to the theft for which she was apprehended, the following situation occurred. A relative of her husband was visiting at their home on his way through the city. The children left for school in the morning and the husband went to work. She was dressed in a housecoat. The relative got up late and was in his pajamas. She always had been fond of him and, after they had a cup of coffee together, he began to become familiar and led her back into the bedroom. She finally resisted his approach and no intercourse occurred. But she felt tremendously guilty about this "near miss."

In each of these instances she had felt a need for sexual gratification that was unfulfilled. To relieve the need she attained gratification symbolically by stealing. It is interesting to note that the value of the articles stolen varied in accord with the intensity and seriousness of the situation.

2. The Need to Gain Status

To illustrate this category, we have a college girl home for the mid-semester holidays. Her parents were in Florida for the winter season. She had been left a generous allowance to buy a spring wardrobe. Her mother had also directed that the girl take her older sister with her "because she had such nice taste in clothes." The older sister had always been a source of emotional strain to the younger girl because of the mother's obvious bias in favor of the older daughter. Our subject was not particularly attractive but had an excellent record in high school. Each month, when she brought home her report card, the mother would exam-

ine it and say somewhat disparagingly, "Oh, this is fine, you're good in school, but look at what your sister can do with a few dollars on clothes." The older sister did have an excellent clothes sense. She worked in the garment trade and had access to reasonably priced sources. All her life the younger girl had been unfavorably compared with her sister. Even at this time, when the mother and father were away, the instructions had been, "Take your older sister; she has good taste." As it happened, the older sister was unable to accompany our subject.

The girl started downtown alone. She had one idea: "I'll show them how carefully I can shop." She went to Fourteenth Street to look for bargains. In the first store she selected one or two items for purchase, but did not find a salesgirl. Impulsively, she walked out with them. The idea grew—"This is going to be better than I thought. I will really be able to make a good impression." She started uptown and had taken things from several stores before she was apprehended.

When asked if she had ever stolen before, she first answered, "No," but then, after thinking awhile, said, "Yes, once—only once."

"When was that and exactly what happened?"

"I was in the first year of high school. I had never been popular with my classmates in grammar school and had longed to be accepted as one of the group when I got to high school. There was a club. The initiation for the club was to steal something. I picked out the most difficult thing on the list, stole it, and was accepted into the club."

The only previous time she had stolen was to gain status and accept-

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ance among her friends. At this time, when the opportunity presented itself, the unconscious pattern was there. Stealing gained the acceptance she had wanted. So she stole this time in an attempt to gain her mother's acceptance.

3. The Need for Punishment

A woman was apprehended with an article of small value, less than \$10. At the time she had \$100 in cash in her purse and an active charge account at the store. This woman had married for the first time in the early 1940's. Three days after the marriage, the husband, an army officer, went overseas. He was away two years. She was working in the city and each night, as a commuter, was on the ferry with an attractive man. They struck up an acquaintance. He was married, too, but he and our subject became friends. They began to stay in town for a drink and dinner together. Finally he got a small apartment and they began to spend occasional nights together. They planned to get divorces and then be married. She became pregnant, and had an abortion.

Some time later her husband was returned because of a serious wound and was confined to an army hospital for about eight months. This postponed her plans because she could not bring herself to divorce him while he was hospitalized. Upon his recovery, however, she told him about the other man. They were divorced. So were the other couple, and our subject married the man she had met on the ferry. But throughout this period she had a strong feeling of guilt over the infidelity to her husband while he was away in service, and felt even stronger guilt over the abortion. It had never been alleviated—she needed punish-

ment. She looked for it; for her, stealing was a means of getting punishment by being caught and publicly humiliated.

4. The Need for Revenge

In our fourth category we have a girl who was apprehended twice in one day. Because of the prominence of her parents, the first store released her. After her apprehension in the second store, she was referred to the author. In her life history there was a story of nervous, high-strung mother and gruff, brusque father who, although he obviously did everything possible for her, was never able to express warm affection for her and never gave her the feeling that she was loved. There was a long-standing hostility between the girl and her mother. On the occasion in question she had received a phone call from her father's office and, in a state of panic, thought he was about to find fault with her for something that had occurred. She then went out, not knowing where she was going, and ended up in the store where she stole several articles. Deep probing finally brought out that there was only one thought in her mind—to get even with her parents by disgracing the family name.

These cases are not numerous. However, the therapy has apparently been successful and to date there has been no known repeater among the group that accepted help. The experience seems to suggest that a therapeutic approach to the problem of shoplifting is beneficial not only in terms of the humane goal of helping the patient to healthy emotional growth, but also in terms of a practical dollars-and-cents consideration for retail

stores. If, through treatment, we can effectively eliminate repetition of the offense, the potential occurrence of shoplifting can be reduced by approximately 25 per cent.

The factor that appeared to be most important in the group who failed to return after making the initial visit was unwillingness or inability to un-

dertake the expense of examination and treatment. Retail stores might well consider the possibility and practicality of setting up a treatment program, somewhat in the nature of a shoplifters' clinic. Such a program would, in the long run, be profitable as a definite addition to methods of loss prevention.

Supplement

Probation for the Female Shoplifter

JOHN F. KREPPEIN

Chief Probation Officer, Queens County Court, New York City

THE shoplifter is usually a female for the simple reason, among others, that most persons gathered in a large retail merchandising establishment at a given time are females.

Most professional shoplifters are not caught (and as for those who are, the number of arrests is small compared to the number of offenses). The converse of this is also true: the great majority of apprehended shoplifters are amateurs.

Professional shoplifters avoid arrest because they are clever enough to know the stores (or specific sections of the stores) that have good security measures, and are prudent enough not to practice their larceny in those places. Too, their professional training and highly developed skills give them advantages in situations where adequate store security personnel are not provided.

The first principle of professional shoplifters is, "There is safety in numbers." So, they work in crowded,

busy places and, unless necessity or compulsion forces them to operate alone, they work in teams of two or more. The chances for success are greater where team operation is used; the greater the degree of cooperation of the team members, the greater the degree of success achieved. Training techniques emphasize the need for finesse and boldness and the use of rapid "spiels" which "con" the untrained and unsophisticated sales employee when experienced security personnel are not provided or are not available at the spot. Good working operations require good planning, coordination inside and outside the establishment for execution and getaway, and a ready channel for quick disposal of purloined merchandise.

The professional's esprit de corps is high, too! If she is arrested, she generally describes herself as innocent, confused, indigent, and alone in the big city, with no relatives or friends to help her. Yet, within a few hours after apprehension, she may be out

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on a sizable bail bond. If she cannot raise bail or "beat the rap," she generally accepts philosophically the enforced sojourn following conviction. Professional élan is only temporarily dampened during this period set aside by society for reflection and reconstruction.

For the most part, the female apprehended for shoplifting is a lone operator, inexperienced, untutored in the techniques of shoplifting, and without any of the "props" essential for professional operators.

Probation's chief contribution, of course, lies in assisting the hapless nonprofessional females who may become involved for the sorts of reasons outlined by Dr. Rouke in the article above. Cooperation of many kinds is required to work out programs of probation guidance and counseling for this group of lawbreakers.

Along with the regular probation investigation and supervision programs in general use, two additional practices—known as (1) the prepleading investigation and (2) the presentence supervision—are being increasingly employed.

Prepleading Investigation

The prepleading investigation is used when the defendant's counsel informs the court and the district attorney (a) that his client wishes to plead guilty to the offense, and (b) that there are certain mitigating factors which, if known to the court and the district attorney, might work for leniency in the type of plea the defendant would be required to make. The probation officer is called in and a conference follows in which the set of circumstances peculiar to this defendant's offense is discussed. The judge, district attorney, defense counsel, and probation department then

decide whether an investigation of the defendant should be conducted so that the mitigating circumstances can be officially known and recorded.

If it is agreed to conduct a prepleading investigation, the defendant is requested to sign a waiver, in which she indicates that she has, through her attorney, requested an adjournment of the pleading on the indictment or information, and has also requested that an examination be made by the probation department prior to the pleading. In this request she also indicates a desire to waive all constitutional and statutory immunity and privileges, and agrees that information obtained from her during the investigation may be used in a subsequent trial or proceeding. In effect, she consents to a full investigation of her personal and social history, including her past criminal record, and consents that a complete medical, psychological, and psychiatric history and examination be obtained.

After the waiver is signed by the defendant, the extensive prepleading report is prepared in the probation department, with the help of all the usual individuals and agencies and the district attorney's records. Like all reports and records prepared by the probation department, it is made solely for the use of the judge before whom the request was made. After careful analysis of the report, the judge confers with the defense counsel, the district attorney, the probation officer, and others as requirements indicate. (Frequently, the results of psychiatric examinations are studied, and a psychiatrist may be consulted.) As a result of this conference, the district attorney and defense counsel then agree on a proper plea to satisfy the ends of justice.

This practice, however, has not

been widespread even in the courts where it is encouraged. The request must be initiated by counsel for the defendant after preliminary discussion with the district attorney; then both the prosecution and the defense must come before the court with the proposition; then all three must go to the probation department for investigation and evaluation services. The procedure provides safeguards for the proper administration of justice, as well as acceptable social treatment for the offender. But, perhaps because it makes such heavy demands on time and interest, it is used only on a limited basis.

Presentence Supervision

The presentence supervision arrangement provides a medium for individualized attention and service. Frequently, in the processing of the presentence report, it is discovered that the defendant has participated, let us say, in a series of shoplifting episodes, or even may have served a series of incarcerations in reformatories or penal institutions, but now shows genuine indications of wanting help toward self-reformation. Furthermore, a period of self-reconstruction may actually have been started between apprehension and processing for sentence. Up to this time, the court has no knowledge of the defendant and the probation officer has had only a short acquaintance with her, based on a few brief, though apparently fruitful, contacts with her and on "one shot" interviews with members of her family and social group. How to know the total individual?

Upon the recommendation of the probation department and with the consent of the defendant, her counsel,

and the district attorney, it has been found helpful for the court to adjourn the date of sentence for a period of several months. In the interim, an intensive supervision program is carried out. Arrangements can be made for whatever therapy is indicated; even where professional therapies are refused or proper follow-up of regimens is neglected, the probation officer may be able to infuse some insight by good counsel. Among other things, it is possible to observe closely the program of employment, to encourage the development of a budget plan for the individual or household, and to guide emotional energies into safer channels. So, at the end of the period of supervision, the very least the probation officer is able to accomplish is to give to the court a much more satisfactory picture than was possible a week, two weeks, or even a month after the defendant made her plea; and, at best, the short-term intensive period may have been spent in helping to rebuild the battered wreckage of a personality into a well-integrated whole person.

Tax-conscious budget-makers should understand that ultimately it makes for good social health if a person coming before the court, particularly for the first time, can be helped to know himself better by the probation officer's spending a longer preliminary period getting to know him. Much too much is expected from the limited allotment of time as presently doled out. Too many incarcerations result from too little knowledge of defendants at the time of sentence. Too many defendants are given probation supervision status without proper preparation of both themselves and their probation officers for this status.

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Voluntary Services for the Female Offender

Salvation Army Aftercare Services

DOROTHY BERRY

Senior-Major, Salvation Army Women's Correctional Bureau, New York City

THE Salvation Army is organized for a religious purpose. Its social welfare program is an outgrowth of a basic belief that man's needs of body and mind must be met as well as those of the spirit.

Among those services of social welfare is our Women's Prison Bureau, which assists female offenders. Any woman who has, at any time, been involved with the criminal law is eligible, regardless of her race or creed.

To aid the offender during the period in which she experiences the drastic change from prisoner to free citizen in the community is a difficult task. Flexible aftercare services—guidance, support, and practical assistance—geared to client needs are most essential.

The Salvation Army centers in large cities offer a number of aftercare services to the female offender. In smaller towns there are individual Salvation Army officers whose knowledge of the released prisoner's problems and of available facilities enables them to provide information and personal help to the offender. Salvationists are, by and large, naturally warm in approach, a characteristic which helps the problem-burdened feel accepted—usually a new experience.

Referrals come to the Army from many channels: police, judges, probation departments, parole offices, cor-

rectional institutions, families, individuals, social agencies, clergymen, and Salvation Army officers. The client either comes directly to the office or writes to the Bureau. First contact with the girl or woman is often in the court, the institution, or in her home.

The female offender has numerous and varied problems. She requires skilled treatment by an understanding worker familiar with the field of correction—but she does not come requesting casework. It is practical assistance she usually needs at the start. The urgency of the requests which first bring released prisoners to the Bureau demands immediate action, and the worker is prepared to meet the practical need with a minimum of questioning. It is during this first visit that the worker eases the client into feeling less fearful in her new situation and tries to start a relationship which will bring the applicant back to the office of her own volition. As the worker-client relationship progresses, the offender will discover other needs in areas accessible to assistance through the Bureau's program.

Residence in a good section of the town or city is a valuable part of aftercare service. The female offender who, after leaving the institution, goes back to her former friends, desperately needs post-release guidance. She is often

forced to take this step because there is no way she knows of to find a new home, or because she is unwilling to take agency assistance (which would put her into a new and therefore fear-producing position). Such an offender is almost sure to become a recidivist and, in the long run, will cost the community a great deal more than if good aftercare were provided for her.

An employment service is another necessary tool in the rehabilitation program. The offender needs explanation and guidance. She needs a public relations representative—and to do that job, the worker needs to learn techniques by which she can sell the parolee to the prospective employer.

In serving the female offender, the Bureau does two things: it accepts responsibility for the client and it also keeps always in mind its responsibility to the public.

If confidence in Salvation Army workers can be established with the woman while she is still in prison, care after her release is facilitated. Interviews with the prisoner before she is released, during which her return to the community is discussed, stimulate her to look ahead and plan for the future. The worker can then prepare the family and relevant community facilities for the offender's return. In their anxiety for their loved one, members of a family sometimes do the very thing that eventually causes a violation of the law by the released offender. Most people do not understand that the released prisoner is most at ease when casually treated; she does not want to be thought of as "different."

Public education can bring about a corps of volunteers informed on the subject who will be equipped to help offenders. The community can best be informed by people who work

directly with female offenders, and this effort can strengthen the aftercare program. Careful interpretation to the client and to the cooperating agencies should smooth the way for the offender who must be referred; it is, however, best to keep referrals to other agencies at a minimum at least until the client becomes acclimatized to her new freedom.

Our intake records show that most of those who come to us have definite, short-term requests. Some cases are closed after that service has been performed; others are reopened, after varying periods, as the client returns to the Bureau for help. It is those offenders who return to the Bureau frequently who can be helped by casework. There are always a certain number who just drop in for what seems to be a social call. These women usually want to reassure themselves that they are welcome; Bureau service is of course open to them should they need it.

The international character of Salvation Army organization facilitates more effective service. The person who, upon release from the institution, plans to travel to another section of the country can be helped from place to place by each of the Army's referral centers; in all of them, the offender will receive the same acceptance, understanding, and assistance. Salvation Army posts abroad can help with aftercare services for the deportee.

One of the most important functions of aftercare service is to help the individual accept herself. Showing faith and confidence in her helps. It is the worker's responsibility to instill optimism and realism in her view of her situation, so that she can look forward to a future without recurring difficulties. To accomplish this the worker must convince the offender of her sin-

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cerity. If she is successful, the offender will accept her as a friend.

William Booth, Founder of the Salvation Army, bequeathed to his followers two ideas (similar to case-work thinking, though offered before it came into prominence). He said, "Go for souls, and go for the worst," and treat the "whole man"—physical, spiritual, and mental. The first one has impelled Army workers to active, not passive, work; Bureau officers know that they cannot hope to help the fe-

male offender if they only sit at their desks waiting to receive those who have mustered up the courage to come to the door, but that they must go to the offender. The second of the Founder's precepts—treating the whole man—is the basis for the Salvation Army's program of rehabilitation.

These two goals, accepted by our workers around the world, form the core of work with the female offender which can help her toward a new and better life.

The Friendly Visitors Service Program in Action

GRACE STUART NUTLEY

President, New York Friendly Visitors

THE Friendly Visitors is a volunteer organization composed of men and women interested in a rehabilitation program for women who have served time in the House of Detention in New York City. It is primarily concerned with those women when they return to society as individuals who must accept responsibility for their behavior and integrate in community life. Unless their prison experience begins their re-education and aids them in the establishment of desirable goals for their own behavior, they will return again and again. Unless they are made aware of the fact that there are friendly people in what they often feel is a completely hostile world—people concerned about what happens to them and ready to give them a helping hand in their struggle to achieve self-respect and community status—many will through sheer discouragement return to their old habits and haunts. Their problems are in a very real sense society's problem, and a society which gives no thought to this problem is

guilty of irresponsibility. Thus the main objective of the Friendly Visitors is to put into practice a relatively new concept in correction: namely, to widen the arena of social responsibility to include nongovernmental activity. In other words, even if the government fulfilled its complete responsibility to these women, there would still be a job for the Friendly Visitors, since they are the bridge from prison to community. They symbolize in tangible terms the conscience of society.

Anna M. Kross, Commissioner of the New York City Department of Correction, launched the first group of Friendly Visitors in October, 1955. She provided the guidance and encouragement necessary to give them confidence in developing their program and fostering harmonious cooperation within the prison, without which no program could be realized.

The Friendly Visitors felt their first service to these women was to try to understand intelligently their position and the hazards they faced in their fu-

tures. Therefore they went to the Social Service Department of the prison for information and guidance. They discovered that most of these women leave the prison with no families to give them shelter or support and no funds, clothing, or baggage; that their records make it more than usually difficult to find employment; that they start their new life with handicaps which would terrify the average person, since most of them are unskilled and untrained.

Aid to Inmates

Having achieved a realistic understanding of the problem, the Friendly Visitors began their work by supporting in every possible way the educational program within the prison. The sewing class needed materials with which to carry on their work; the food trades course required additional supplies; the library needed new books and magazines; the arts and crafts department could expand if it could secure additional supplies. In the hospital, where girls were confined with nothing to occupy their attention, mobile book carts were provided on regular schedule with a volunteer librarian to assist the girls in their choice of reading material; cards and games were collected; a supply of wool and a volunteer knitting instructor were made part of the regular weekly activity program. Cigarettes were provided weekly for those girls with no funds to purchase supplies in the commissary. New classes were introduced as needs became apparent. A typing class, a literary group, an English class, a drama group, each under the direction of a volunteer instructor, found their place in the prison program. One of the most popular classes has been the knitting class, where the girls learn to make sweaters for themselves or members of their families.

These girls and women are sincerely grateful for any gesture which shows belief in them, for the helping hand and the friendly counsel they need so desperately in their struggle to rehabilitate themselves and develop that feeling of self-respect necessary for good adjustment. Those who have it often don't recognize its value; those who have never had it don't know how to acquire it. The Friendly Visitors, recognizing this dilemma, believe that any suggestions for self-improvement are valuable. Consequently, a beauty parlor has been set up within the prison to aid in the establishment of good grooming habits that these girls can make a part of their regular routine.

Another important part of in-care service is the regular visits made by a few specially chosen and trained women to inmates assigned to them. The role of these women is mainly a listening one—not asking questions or giving advice, but letting these prisoners talk to them and feel that someone is concerned about them as people. The assignments are made through the Social Service Department; indeed, all of the services which the Friendly Visitors give are directed either through Social Service channels or through the program director of the prison's administrative staff.

Aftercare Services

Recognizing that postinstitutional care is a tremendously important part of the permanent rehabilitation of these women, the Friendly Visitors have devised the following procedure:

The Social Service Department alerts the Friendly Visitors on the girls who are to be released. The girl's abilities, training, and special problems are discussed. Her needs in terms of money, clothing, housing, and a job are assessed.

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Then the Friendly Visitors, through their various committees, try to contact an organization or individual who can give the practical assistance needed. For one girl, it may be money to return to her home city, where she will be free from her old associates and haunts. For another, it may be temporary housing and food. For a third, it may be clothing and decent luggage.

Many of these women come into the prison in July, in thin summer clothes, and go out in the middle of winter. They need complete, head to foot outfitting, including a suitcase in which to carry their possessions. To keep the clothing room stocked in clothes and shoes of all sizes and kinds for the variety of girls who pass through the House of Detention is a job requiring much time, thought, and energy from many interested people. Careful grooming and attractive clothes help instill in these women a feeling of self-respect, which makes finding a job and creating a new life less terrifying.

For others employment is needed; in many instances family counseling is necessary. For all it means someone who can contact a church leader who will be personally interested in them.

Obviously much of this assistance re-

quires cash. The Friendly Visitors try constantly to expand the sponsorship necessary to make rehabilitation more than a mere word by acquainting clubs and organizations with the problem. One women's service club has pledged \$1,000 for the next three years for postcare of these women, the money to be assigned for the use of specific girls chosen by the Social Service Department.

Few Friendly Visitors work inside the prison; many of them work industriously on the outside to provide those services which are not now within the scope of the Correction Department (and perhaps should not be). The small group working inside the prison is the liaison unit which makes the effective functioning of the larger outside group possible. Every month more organizations and clubs hear of the program and objectives of the Friendly Visitors. Wherever the voluntary in-care and aftercare program is explained, there is a gratifying acceptance of responsibility. The Friendly Visitors envision their program as an ever increasing development of social responsibility, an exciting challenge which bridges the gap between prison and community.

Rehabilitating the Alcoholic Woman

MOLLIE SALKOVER

President, Woman's City Club, Cincinnati

FOR nearly seven lean and frustrating years the Court Committee of the Woman's City Club of Cincinnati has worked for the establishment of a psychiatric clinic in its Municipal Court. In January, 1956, we settled

temporarily for a nonprofessional Citizen's Rehabilitation Committee which would put alcoholic women coming out of the city workhouse on their feet again.

Beginning in 1948 (and for two years

thereafter) the Court Committee visited the court and observed the cases adjudicated there. Dickensian scenes were common in the courtroom. Antiquated and inefficient procedures, and repeated arrests of the same individuals for identical offenses by the overworked police, clogged the dockets with recidivists. Our experience in the court added up to just one thing: the sad fact that this was a shameful waste of taxpayers' money. That a psychiatric clinic was an impelling necessity, we could see. But prominent lawyers predicted that trying to get such a clinic—even a small one, mind you—would be equivalent to hammering away at a stone wall. And so it has been!

At first we heard the excuse that no legal precedent would allow judges to employ psychiatric help in the Municipal Court. Challenged thus, our Court Committee took up the gauntlet and succeeded in having legislation passed authorizing psychiatric help in the municipal courts of Ohio. This legal "yea" was included in the Amendment to the New Unified Municipal Court Act, Section 1612: "The judge or judges may appoint . . . one or more psychiatrists. . . ."

This law became effective January 1, 1952, opening a legal highway not only for Cincinnati but for the whole state of Ohio as well.

But the law was never used in Cincinnati! For six years we were stumped—unable to do anything in the medieval setting of the court before which the same faces appeared time after time. The committee finally decided to form a citizens' group, with the hope of helping the prisoners once they emerged from that medieval building, the city workhouse.

Our committee of citizens has members from three separate groups—the

Western Hills Prayer Group, the Alcoholics Anonymous, and the Woman's City Club. It soon centered its interest on alcoholic women. In the first place, nothing at all was being done for the women at the workhouse. Secondly, AA had never had manpower or means to handle the problems of women alcoholics in the workhouse; and this situation existed *in spite of* reports from the city health department that there are about 4,000 women alcoholics in Cincinnati alone. The city police records disclose that there were 642 arrests of drunken women here last year.

When the women get out of the workhouse, they cannot, like men, sleep in parks or in hallways. They can't even panhandle successfully for a night's lodging at a flophouse. Spurred to action by these facts, which showed that women alcoholics were the worst off of any of Cincinnati's workhouse inmates, the Citizen's Rehabilitation Committee began its pilot attempt to rehabilitate alcoholic women released from the workhouse. It has been a success—in fact, it has succeeded far beyond anything we dreamed of. We have even included in the program a few women not committed to the workhouse but recommended to us.

Before we took any step to break the vicious circle in the lives of alcoholic women who expressed a desire to enter on the program, we carefully worked out our plans.

We decided that our first goal was to try to be independent. No help from Welfare. No investigations. No questioning. No professionalism.

The problem of starting an AA program for women within the workhouse was solved when a very intelligent, dynamic, and dedicated woman member of AA volunteered. Her first meeting at the workhouse was a phenomenal suc-

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cess; in fact, the officials were amazed at the results. At her second meeting a striking change in the appearance of those who attended was noted—they used make-up, and their hair was neatly combed!

Soon we got our first applicant. She would be released shortly, and the AA representative relayed to us the good news that she had requested our help. We were pressed to find a living place sooner than we had anticipated, but we did succeed in interesting a widow in boarding the woman in her home. Luckily for us, her residence happened to be within a few blocks of the impressive AA clubhouse.

There was drama in this first case; all the workhouse inmates would be watching her *and* us. Each step needed stopwatch timing, like any TV show. She was a very pretty girl, about thirty-two, who said she had been drunk continuously for about fourteen years, starting when she was in high school. The details of her early marriage were hazy and sketchy in her mind; she had a child which had been taken from her by her parents (middle-class people in business in a small town). She said her mother rejected her and she thought her father hated her. (When she sobered up she realized that she had projected her own feelings.)

On the day of her release from the workhouse, she asked to stay until the committee member called for her. The member chosen for this all-important test was a warm, friendly, and motherly woman who brought along a nice change of clothing and some make-up when she went to the workhouse. She drove the girl to the boarding home. There she turned the girl over to her AA sponsors, who took her to their home for the day. They were intent upon showing hospitality and keeping

alive the girl's desire to stay sober. That evening she was escorted to the AA clubhouse and there she was, of course, also very warmly received.

After about a month of living at the boarding house, going to the AA clubhouse in the evening, and receiving treatment from our doctor (an AA himself, who charges nothing), she was a sober person again. The girl's mother came to see her; she couldn't believe her daughter was sober! It was a dramatic meeting, because the young woman's drunken vagueness of fourteen years' standing about her child was dispelled—her parents had never really taken legal custody of her child.

To make the rehabilitation complete, this young woman got a job and kept it; then she met a man at the AA clubhouse. Now they are married. For a time her husband's work took him to the South, and she wrote us from there that she "couldn't believe that the world could be so wonderful and so beautiful. I am living and feel alive for the first time in my life." She returned recently with her husband, eager to help the committee with its work.

Her case is one of five or six who have been successfully rehabilitated. We have failed in about ten cases. Two women (both past middle age) are currently living at the boarding house, working part time and receiving supplementary help from the welfare department.

What does it take? What are the ingredients needed to make such poor dough into partially palatable loaves? They are, roughly speaking, the following: (1) money; (2) a great deal of time; (3) a deep and genuine interest in the individual (every one of the offenders can sense the real thing); and (4) complete cooperation among the members of the committee, who must work as a

team, completely united in thought and action, each understanding his role in the program.

Our pilot project was started with \$122, and we have had to collect more at times. During our first financial crisis, we found an "angel" who kept us going.

We have spent more than \$2,400 during eight months. The length of time each woman lives at the boarding home depends on her individual circumstances—some have stayed a few days, some as long as six months. They are urged to work as soon as the doctor recommends it, but until they do we need to support them.

Currently the Cincinnati Citizens Rehabilitation Committee is trying to raise money (either privately or through some fund or foundation) so that the program of reclamation can continue. It costs us about \$1,200 a year to rehabilitate one woman. But it costs the city \$2,000 per year to keep the same woman in the workhouse! Our program carries hope to workhouse habitués. With our help, they can at least look forward to partial self-support. The city's program is deadly. There is no hope in it—only the permanent dead weight of tax-supported lives.

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Concepts of Normal and Delinquent Behavior*

LEO H. BERMAN, M.D.

Study Unit in Psychiatry and Law, Yale University

I WOULD like to begin my discussion of normal and delinquent behavior by telling you about a psychiatric investigation of prisoners in which I played a part.

In 1953 the Connecticut legislature appropriated money for a pilot psychiatric service for the state prison at Wethersfield, and requested Yale University to staff and administer this service. The university already had a special research group, the Yale Study Unit in Psychiatry and Law, which was investigating problems in the field. Psychologists, lawyers, sociologists, and psychiatrists were part of this unit, and it was with this interdisciplinary approach that the study at Wethersfield was begun.

We were aware that the prison personnel had specific questions for us: they wanted help in the classification of prisoners, they wanted assistance with difficult and troublesome inmates, they wanted consultation for the obviously mentally ill, and they wanted collaboration on the problem of selecting prisoners for parole. However, the Study Unit felt that, before these needs could be met, simpler questions had to be answered. Our work began with the tools nearest at hand at the time, group and individual psychological tests. Trained psychologists utilized

the T.A.T. and Rorschach tests, in addition to tests of intelligence, to arrive at some formulation of the prisoners' personalities.

The next step consisted of individual psychiatric interviews with the inmates. We were feeling our way, and we began by trying to see whether there were any differences among the three groups: prisoners who the psychologists thought were disturbed, or those referred to us by the administration for various reasons, or those prisoners who specifically requested to see the doctor. Because there were a number of psychiatrists conducting these interviews, we worked out questionnaires by means of which the material obtained would be comparable and interchangeable. We became particularly interested in the question of sex offenders, recognizing that within this broad classification there was a wide range of offenses, from "lascivious carriage" to rape and murder, and we worked out detailed studies of these prisoners, comparing them to other offenders not convicted of sex crimes. Later came questions regarding the changes in prisoners during their confinement, and several groups of prisoners were examined in relation to the status of their sentence—that is, beginning, middle, or end. More recently, intensive sociological studies have been made in an attempt to arrive at detailed knowledge of the numerous factors and conditions which affect

* From an address delivered at the National-Regional Conference on Crime and Delinquency, New York City, April 14, 1956.

behavior. In the last three years we have been trying to assist in the selection of prisoners for parole by adding a psychiatric estimate to the mass of data submitted to the parole board. We would like to know whether these reports have helped the board at all, and whether the parole officer can get anything from them which will assist him in his work with the parolee.

There have been other studies and projects in these three years. And there has been a tremendous amount of self-inquiry. All those associated with the Study Unit have searched themselves and their skills to determine just how they can add to knowledge of the criminal and his behavior. Our suspicions that an enormous amount of work lies ahead have been confirmed; in this field, as in others, new knowledge poses more questions which demand answering. The more we understand normal behavior, the more we will know about delinquent behavior; and vice versa, the more we understand the criminal, the more we will know about the roots and dynamics of the normal. Generalizations and broad categorizations can conceal ignorance; only complacency and self-deception can allow us to feel knowledgeable when we paste a label on some activity or person.

I found that in my work with the prisoners I was entirely in sympathy with the Gluecks when they wrote: "How can it be reasonably expected that a brief judicial contact with a delinquent, whether it be entirely sympathetic or accompanied by a threat of punishment if the boy does not 'turn over a new leaf,' will change an emotional and conduct pattern that is often deeply anchored? How can a probation or parole officer effectively modify fundamental attitudes and behavior tendencies by brief sporadic

contacts with an offender? How can the superintendent of an institution expect to reform a persistent delinquent when the propulsions to maladjustment are often unknown to either the offender or those charged with his rehabilitation?" In other words, I was saying to myself that I needed to know a lot more about the offenders, and I found that I had to ask myself, "What is a criminal, an offender, a delinquent?"

What Is Normality?

Offhand it doesn't seem too difficult to define what we mean by delinquent behavior. This is activity which deviates from the normal and is prohibited by the laws and sanctions of our society. We turn then to the question of defining the normal. Here, surprisingly enough, we find a tremendous amount of confusion and difficulty, for when we begin to examine this question of normality we find that much that we have taken for granted must be questioned and corrected.

In the field of medicine, "normal" and "average" are usually used interchangeably, and one dictionary definition of normal is "the average or mean." Thus by medical research one finds that the average blood sugar content is of a certain value, and this is referred to as the normal amount. Deviation from this average is associated with abnormalities and symptoms, or disease. However, when we study large groups of people there are no very specific and definite figures for the "normal" or "average" values, and instead a wide range is used to designate the normal value. Thus the normal blood sugar is said to be 80 to 120 milligrams per 100 cubic centimeters of blood; similarly, the "normal" intelligence is given as an I.Q. of 90 to 110. If we try to apply this con-

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cept to behavior we find that we do not have the standards, the criteria, the averages, as we have for physical or psychological measurements. How can we get averages of behavior? What do we study? What do we measure? These practical questions point up the impossibility of using statistical averages to define what is normal and what is abnormal in the area of behavior. Nor can normal, in the statistical sense, be used interchangeably with health: Most people have cavities in their teeth; statistically, therefore, it is normal to have cavities; but it is not healthy to have them and this statistical norm is not something one should strive to attain.

I mentioned that deviation from the normal amount of blood sugar was associated with symptoms or disease, and this concept has been used in trying to define normal. That is, freedom from symptoms means being normal; if you don't have anything wrong with you, you are normal. However, in medicine we know that a person can deviate from the normal without showing overt symptoms. Often these are the tragedies of medicine, where disease can exist for a long period of time without treatment, only because the symptoms were not manifest. When we think of symptoms in relation to behavior, we find even more difficulties, for what behavior are we to note as symptomatic of disorder? Some aspects of behavior are more easily designated as abnormal than others. Thus the school teacher will recognize as abnormal the very aggressive, noisy, rambunctious child who demands too much time and attention from her, but she will overlook the quiet, withdrawn, overly passive youngster who doesn't cause her any trouble, but who may be much sicker than the first child.

Conformity is often posited as a

symptom of normality: he who does what everyone else does is normal, he who is out of step is abnormal. Our experience, though, has shown us that amongst those in step are many whose abnormalities may be quite marked but whose disturbances are of such a nature that, like the withdrawn youngster described above, they go unnoticed. History also reveals that being out of step, like Galileo or Columbus, need not be synonymous with abnormal behavior.

Unhappiness is frequently thought to point to abnormality: to be normal is to be happy, or to be happy is to be normal. Again I do not think that this is a valid statement. Normal life frequently demands behavior and experiences which are far from happy or pleasant; moreover, the abnormal individual very frequently appears to be inappropriately happy or content in the face of disturbing situations.

Some have identified success with normality. But this is so obviously fallacious that we need only ask "Successful in what?" to bring the successful criminal to mind—a thought which reveals the hollowness of this concept.

My dictionary gives me a definition of normality other than "average" or "mean," and that is, "well adjusted to the outside world; without undue mental tensions." I find this unsatisfactory; for what is meant by "adjustment"? Does it mean "compliance," "acceptance," "resignation," or something else? Thus in a study of the effects of prolonged unemployment on children in one community, it was found that passivity or apathy was most marked. However, one child did rebel, got into some trouble, and was sent to the reformatory—where he learned how to be an electrician, an experience which enabled him to make a far better living than any of his for-

mer peers. The author of that study wondered whether it wasn't healthier to refuse to adjust.

As for the second half of the definition—"freedom from tension"—I wonder, as I do about happiness, whether it is really desirable always to seek this. Is this the goal of a good and healthy life?

Normality as Social Health

So much for a critical survey of popular concepts of normality. Here are my own views:

First of all, I do see health and normality as synonymous. To be normal is to be healthy, and to be healthy is to be normal. Secondly, in arriving at a definition, I feel it is imperative to consider man not in isolation, but as a member of human society. The essential qualities of human behavior which are to be evaluated as normal or abnormal, healthy or sick, can be understood only in the context of men born into a particular social world in which they grow, live, and work together. The way a man sees the world around him is determined by the life that he has, the practices of those around him, and by his practices with them.

Man as a biological organism is born with certain needs; but man as a social being must relate to society, which has its own needs. These are not fixed, arbitrary, and unchangeable. They are the outcome of the living together of people under varying situations and stages of growth and development. They are made by man, but they in turn make man what he is. Nor is man and his nature or personality unchangeable. There are forces at work making him what he is; but these forces are by no means mechanically determined, irreversible, or unyielding.

I believe that a man is normal and, by the same token, healthy, to the de-

gree that he accurately perceives both his needs and the needs of others around him, and that he behaves in a manner consistent with these correct perceptions. Equal emphasis must be placed on all three of the factors mentioned—the correct recognition of his own real needs, the real needs of the society, and activity consistent with these needs. It is thus essential that a man know as much as he can about the limits within which he can act. Once these limits are established, the individual is free to act. This kind of freedom, or normality, then, is the result of recognition of the individual's and society's limitations.

Now this definition may sound strange to those involved with the delinquent and the antisocial individual, for we might ask, "Aren't the criminals trying to be free, free of all the restrictions and sanctions of society?" My reply is that such "freedom" is illusory and false. The delinquent who wants to be freed of the responsibility for school work does not see the consequences—that is, that he is not then free to have a trade and a job. The nomad who wants to be free from regular working hours cannot be free to have money to buy food or proper clothing. The man who wants to be free from the responsibility of a wife and a home is then not free to enjoy the pleasures of a real relationship or the satisfaction of children. What the delinquent is asking for is not freedom at all but anarchy—that is, freedom from both natural and man-made laws. The delinquent's concept of freedom fails to deal with the requirements of the real world. This false concept results from a distorted view of the world we live in, and is therefore the expression of the opposite of normality—namely, disease. To the degree that the delinquent

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does not recognize his real needs, and the needs of society, he lives a life which is the antithesis of freedom; he is subject to imprisonment by himself and by society. Imprisonment by himself means that the delinquent is enslaved by his own limitations. He cannot really grow as a human being because of his own self-restrictions. Imprisonment by society is, of course, just what it says, whether it be jail, prison, probation, or parole.

I do not mean to imply that the problem of the delinquent is the result of a conflict between the individual and society. Society does not stand as a force in opposition to the individual. However, society, composed as it is of individuals living together, is governed by certain rules, needs, and requirements, and the individual must be aware of these. Understanding the laws of society enables us to recognize the nature of behavior and conduct. The laws of society can be changed through understanding, not through ignorance or disregard.

The delinquent, in his disregard of restrictions and boundaries, ignores the rights of others. He demands that he be treated differently from others. He has a sense of uniqueness about him. Let others follow the rules, that's good enough for them; he wants immunity from such rules. The delinquent fails to see the chain of events that leads from wanting something to obtaining it. He tries to shortcut what has to be done to get what he wants, disregarding the needs or rights of others. He thus acts in a private way, at odds with his society. He tries to maintain a sense of self which does not need other people. It is true that he feels people can be used, that they can be "conned," but he can't really achieve a sense of cooperativeness. If he should give anyone any real satisfaction, he

takes it to mean that he has lost something, that someone has gained at his expense, and he fights this consistently.

It is necessary to emphasize several deductions which could be made from this thesis. Firstly, normality and delinquency are relative and not absolute terms. As man and society have varied throughout history, so have the limits of normality. What may have been wrong once, and in a different culture, may be right now, in our own. This relativity is in operation also during the life history of an individual: taking a toy from a playmate or from the counter of the 5 & 10 cents store at the age of four or five does not have the same significance as stealing later on.

Secondly, it is implicit in my definition that the categories of normal and delinquent behavior are not mutually exclusive compartments. A normal individual may become sick under certain circumstances, and the delinquent can move back into the fold of the normal.

Historical or Psychiatric Approach

By seeing man as a product of and a participant in society, I wish to call attention to what psychiatry has to offer in the understanding of delinquent behavior. It has been said that psychiatry is interested in explaining human nature, while law is concerned with the control of human behavior. It is obvious, from what I have said before, that control can come only from understanding. Explaining and understanding the offender's behavior can come only from a dynamic approach to the problem of human behavior by which the offender is seen as the end result of a process. He is born into a particular culture and a particular family setting. His active

conditioning begins with birth itself and continues throughout life. To attempt to "explain" a crime without an examination of the life history of the person involved would be like trying to "explain" the outbreak of the second World War without reference to the history of the interwar years. We approach the delinquent then not with the simple question, "Why did you commit this act?", but rather with the complex investigation of the sort of person he is. We ask, for example: Who is this delinquent? In what country was he born? Who were his parents? What did they want out of life? What did they expect from their children? What were their financial problems? In what kind of neighborhood did he grow up? How did his teachers see the world? In other words, we say that this individual is the result, the product, of his history, and we can understand him only in terms of a knowledge and an understanding of his total history.

As an illustration of this approach let me cite a case I have seen in private practice. This is a thirty-two year old divorced man who has repeatedly forged checks or written worthless ones. He has never been in trouble with the law, because his father had always managed to bail him out of difficulty. The man came to me only because of his father's threat not to make good on the present quota of worthless checks unless he went for psychiatric help. The patient could give no reasons for his repeated offenses. He was a successful salesman and junior executive. Every time he started a new job he would begin by working hard to be recognized, but once this was attained he would begin to live beyond his means. He would slacken off at work, soon be in debt, and, finally, lose his job. Then would come the

bad checks and the demands to make them good. He would appeal to his father, who always salvaged him; rescued, he would mark time for a few months, only to start all over again.

The patient was the only child of a very successful builder. The father had worked himself up from nothing, by means of strength and determination plus connivance, bribery, and chicanery. The patient seemed quite proud of his father's tricks in getting contracts, cutting costs, and making profits. He felt, though, that his father had never allowed him any initiative or freedom. He spoke a great deal of his efforts to break away from his dominating father. However, as we explored his behavior, we found incident after incident to show that he was not seeking independence but rather was trying to enslave his father as he felt enslaved. His dependency on his father was an act of aggression and hostility. Finally he was able to shout out that he felt he was entitled to his father's money, and this cleared away a great many false fronts and self-deceits which enabled us to work on his seeing the world a little differently from the way he had seen it before.

You will agree, I am sure, that this man was an offender even though he had never actually been in conflict with the law. Through investigation of his history, his seeming lack of motive for the writing of the bad checks was replaced by the knowledge that the man was acting this way because of the kind of person he was, because he saw life in a certain way. Though giving lip service to honesty, he really believed that the only criterion of good or bad behavior was whether you could get away with it or not. He did not want to take the responsibility for working for his

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needs because he believed someone (namely, his father) would come along in the nick of time and save him. He felt he was cutting free from his father, but instead he bound his father to him, as he felt tied to his father. By trying to be free from caring what his bank balance was when he wrote a check, he was not free of his father, not free to enjoy real freedom, not free to enjoy the fruits of his labor.

This approach to the problem is not restricted to the psychiatrist. It would seem to me of the utmost significance for the parole and probation officer, who can act only as a watchdog protecting society from the nefarious activity of the "criminal" if he takes the attitude that the offender by being convicted is labeled a criminal and is thereby forever entombed by his present character. But if the offender is seen as one who has broken society's laws because of reasons inherent within himself, and if the crime is seen as the result of a distorted approach to life, then the parole or probation officer has a much more difficult task and a much more valuable function. For then, to protect society, he must be able to help change the individual's

approach to life. This requires not surveillance, but support; not entrapment, but encouragement; not coercion, but cooperation. Seeking to understand will bring change; change will bring further understanding.

The psychiatric approach to normal and delinquent behavior requires a constant struggle to change that which is to that which is *more desirable*. We emphasize history, but that does not mean that an individual's actions are to be excused away on the grounds that he could not have helped himself. An individual's destructive activity must be seen in terms of the present. He is not simply repeating, in a mechanical way, the problems and difficulties of his earlier years. Patterns were built up then, but they are seen in process today, and it is with today that we must deal. We want to know how things came about, but we must not be complacent and leave it at that. Something more is needed: the activity involved in change. Actually, no real understanding of behavior can be reached outside the process of change. It is only through the struggle for change that true understanding of the personality is achieved.

Abstracts

Characteristics of Delinquent and Dependent or Neglected Boys

JOANNE W. STERLING

Chatham College, Pittsburgh

This study compared the backgrounds and characteristics of thirty-four dependent and neglected boys with those of thirty-seven delinquent boys. All seventy-one subjects had been committed by juvenile courts to Harborcreek Training School for Boys (Harborcreek, Pa.) and were at the institution as of June 6, 1955.

The study, which fulfilled a requirement for the Bachelor of Arts degree at Chatham College, Pittsburgh, was supervised by Dr. William L. Bailey and Dr. Mabel A. Elliott, of the Chatham College sociology department.

Starting from the hypothesis that the greatest differences in the backgrounds of these two groups of boys would be found in the family situation, the author analysed case histories on file at the institution for pertinent data. (This field work was done during the summer of 1955.) In general, all information which consistently appeared in the case histories was used. All of the data were tabulated and then analysed to compare the delinquent boys with the dependent and neglected boys on the basis of personal characteristics (health, personality deviations, race, religion, etc.), parental situation, family income, school record, institutional record, and so on.

Most of the subjects were white Roman Catholic boys; their average age was 13.7 years and their families lived in either Pennsylvania or Ohio.

The study revealed these major differences:

1. The incomes of the delinquent boys' families tended to be distributed over a greater range than those of dependent and neglected boys' families.

2. A greater percentage of the fathers of dependent and neglected boys were employed only part time or irregularly and they were much more frequently classified as unskilled laborers.

3. A much greater percentage of delinquent boys were living with either one or both parents at the time of their referral to court.

4. Almost half of the boys in each group were from broken homes. However, in the delinquent group the break-up was primarily caused by divorce, whereas in the dependent and neglected group it was largely due to illness or death.

5. The average age of the fathers of the dependent and neglected boys was seven years more than the average for the delinquent boys' fathers. The mothers of the dependent and neglected boys were also on the average four years older, and there was a greater disparity between the ages of the parents in this group.

6. A much higher percentage of dependent and neglected boys' parents were classified as "irresponsible" by the social workers.

7. Almost half of the delinquent boys had siblings with records of criminality or delinquency; this was true for only one-fourth of the dependent and neglected group.

8. Child-parent conflicts predominated in the delinquent group, while conflicts between parents were strongest in the dependent and neglected group.

9. The delinquents were found to have serious personality maladjustments twice as frequently as the dependent and neglected boys.

The author concluded from these findings that the nature of the problems of each group is different. Frequently, the adverse factors affecting the families of the dependent and neglected boys were ones which were less liable to control, such as death, mental illness, and sickness. In the delinquent group more personal disorganization was found in members of the family; for example, divorce was a more frequent cause of the broken home, more criminality and delinquency among the

boys' siblings existed, and there were more child-parent tensions.

However, these comparisons overlapped considerably, which tends to emphasize the point that although the delinquent's profile of statistical averages differs from that of the dependent and neglected boy, the nature of the difference varies from boy to boy. Ultimately, behavior must be judged in terms of what it means to each person. Thus any attempt to reduce individual personalities to statistical entities is bound to fall short of a thorough explanation of conduct. Yet a statistical study of this type can be helpful in providing a limited amount of insight into the problem at hand.

For further research in this field, the author would recommend (1) follow-up study of all seventy-one cases used in this study, (2) repetition of the study with a larger sample, (3) study of the two groups in other institutions, (4) the devising of a method to obtain uniform and consistent case history data, and (5) use of interviewing and psychological testing in any further study of this kind. These further studies would be necessary to affirm or contradict the findings cited here.

Rural Attitudes toward Delinquency

BARBARA A. WILLES

School of Social Work, University of Connecticut

This study focuses on the attitudes of people in a rural community toward a child's delinquent behavior rather than on the behavior itself or its motives or the legal adjudication of delinquency. It was submitted as a master's thesis to the School of Social Work at the University of Connecticut.

Viewing delinquency insofar as it is culturally determined, the author asked the question, "What patterns of unacceptable behavior in youngsters most concern those persons who either make juvenile court referrals or who have been in contact with the court about such youngsters, in a rural com-

munity?" Two subsidiary questions evolved from this: (1) Do such people refrain from referring some youngsters whose behavior signifies maladjustment, but whose actions are more acceptable to them? (2) Is there any evidence that such persons sometimes refrain from making referrals because of primary group relationships in rural society?

Vernon, the Connecticut township which was the subject of the study, had 10,115 inhabitants in 1950. Rockville, an incorporated city within the township's boundaries, contained 8,016 of that total. This town is a rural fringe area steadily increasing in population. Many of its residents commute to work in Hartford.

The juvenile court records of twenty-four children who live in Vernon were examined for information on the types of delinquency which had occurred over a period of two years. Sixteen persons listed in these records as complainants or interested persons were then interviewed.

Court publications reveal that predominant among the offenses for which a child can be referred in Connecticut are those involving misuse of property. The study revealed that offenses against property were of definite concern to the persons interviewed.

Whether the law caused this concern is unknown. (Injury to person was not listed in any of these case records.)

Other behavior viewed as detrimental to a child's welfare, such as the use of alcohol or seclusiveness, was often noted by those interviewed, but referrals were usually not made unless more outwardly aggressive attitudes were observed.

Primary group relationships reduced the frequency of court referrals. Interviewees frequently mentioned that people do not want to get their neighbors' children "into trouble." As a result, they try to improve the behavior which has provoked them through their own efforts, make a private settlement with the parents, or do nothing about the situation.

Whether these attitudes prevail in other rural towns or in urban communities is not known. Additional investigation would be needed for comparison. Further research might also study the trend to more frequent referrals, and more referrals involving misuse of property, which characterized the area outside Rockville city limits as compared to the more densely populated area inside. Future study of the accuracy of this finding and explanations of it would be useful.

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News & Notes

There is more public prejudice against a girl who has had an illegitimate baby than against a boy who has committed homicide, says Edith Swift, director of aftercare of the New York City office of the State Training School for Girls at Hudson, N. Y.

"When they come out on parole," says Miss Swift in an article by I. H. Freeman in the *New York Times*, "we have no facilities for rehabilitation except the devotion of our seven caseworkers. Every door is closed to us. Employers will not hire girls under eighteen. As to girls over eighteen, as soon as employers hear the words 'training school' they slam the receiver."

"If a girl under eighteen wants to go back to school, the principal will try any trick to refuse. I have actually had to threaten court action to get a girl enrolled in a public high school."

"Where is a girl to live if her home is unsuitable, which is the most frequent cause of delinquency? Foster parents, God bless them, are understandably reluctant to accept girls out of 'reform' school. Nearly half of the girls do get into trouble again, and the subsistence allowance of \$80 a month is not enough. Residence clubs somehow always seem full when we apply."

"We can't get our girls into summer camps or recreation centers run by private agencies, which fear to contaminate their own susceptibles."

"Now complicate all this with illegitimate babies, retarded intelligence, and borderline psychopaths, and you've got a problem!"

Three years ago a judge of the Court of Common Pleas of Allegheny

County, Pennsylvania, rendered a decision declaring that under the constitution of Pennsylvania it was unconstitutional for Allegheny County to pay from public funds for the maintenance of children placed by the juvenile court in sectarian institutions. The decision caused considerable dismay. An appeal was taken to the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania (Western District).

The NPPA committee on law submitted a brief *amicus curiae*, supporting two main points: (1) the existing private sectarian facilities for the care of delinquent, neglected, and dependent children are a vital resource for juvenile courts and communities in the care of such children; and (2) the basic purpose and responsibility of the juvenile court require that the judge be free to utilize treatment facilities which will best meet the particular needs of the individual child, without regard to sectarian or nonsectarian auspices.

The NPPA brief reported on a questionnaire survey conducted among representative juvenile courts throughout the country. It was clear that in the states represented, substantial use is made of private agencies in the placement of delinquent, neglected, and dependent children by juvenile courts, and among these agencies a majority of the children are placed in sectarian or denominational agencies.

The courts were asked: "If you use sectarian institutions as indicated, and your power to do so were withdrawn, what problems would your court be faced with? Please feel free to make any other comments on this problem; as, on the quality of service given in these institutions, sectarian and nonsectarian." The overwhelming

majority of the replies were to the effect that if the use of sectarian institutions were withdrawn from the facilities available to the juvenile court, there would result a critical loss of much-needed facilities.

In November, the Pennsylvania Supreme Court handed down its decision, upholding the juvenile court practice in placement, and payment for the service from public funds. In its opinion it said, "The Constitution does not prohibit the State or any of its agencies from doing business with denominational or sectarian institutions, nor from paying just debts to them when incurred at its direction or with its approval."

A limited number of copies of the NPPA brief are available without charge.

The September, 1956 issue of *Police* is the initial number of this new bi-monthly magazine "devoted to professional interests of all law enforcement personnel," edited by V. A. Leonard, professor of police administration at the State College of Washington. The variety of subjects covered is indicated in this first issue, which carries articles on arson conviction, photography in law enforcement, equipment for an emergency ambulance, the use of the lie detector, railroad police, rating and testing policemen, juvenile delinquency, obesity, and traffic hazards. Address correspondence to the editor: V. A. Leonard, P.O. Box 837, College Station, Pullman, Wash.

Lloyd Ohlin, formerly director of the Center for Education and Research in Corrections, University of Chicago, is now teaching at the New York School of Social Work, Columbia University.

Charles F. Snyder, chief of the probation department of the Supreme Bench of Baltimore City, retired on October 2, his seventieth birthday. He had been associated with the court since June 30, 1913, when he was appointed its first probation officer.

Florence S. Frederick, Mr. Snyder's administrative assistant, also retired last October. Her service with the probation department began in 1931.

The 1957 Annual Forum of the National Conference on Social Welfare will be held in Philadelphia, May 19-24. Those planning to attend should secure housing information and application forms from the NCSW, 22 West Gay St., Columbus 15, Ohio.

Wanted

from caseworkers and supervisors: Manuscripts *demonstrating the use of casework* in probation or parole.

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Employment Opportunities

Los Angeles, California

Director, Los Angeles County Branch Juvenile Hall. College graduation plus 5 years experience in group supervision and counseling of juveniles in a recognized boarding or resident camp, school, or institution for children, 3 years of which must have been supervisory or administrative, are required. Each additional year of supervisory or administrative experience may be substituted for one year of college. Salary, \$7,296 to \$9,060. Write to Los Angeles County Civil Service Commission, 501 N. Main St., Los Angeles 12, Calif.

Bloomington, Indiana

Chief Probation Officer, Monroe County Circuit Court. To be appointed by circuit court judge from candidates recommended by the Probation Advisory Council. Requirements: 4 years of high school and at least 1 year of experience as a paid social worker; or graduation from a recognized college or university; or 2 years experience as a probation officer and 2 years experience in welfare, teaching, or public service in direct contact with public. Must pass competitive examination given by State Department of Correction. Must have administrative experience or aptitude. Maximum, \$5,000. For further information, write Dr. Thomas O. Middleton, 404 East Seventh St., Bloomington, Ind.

Elyria, Ohio

Probation Officer and Assistant Probation Officer, in county juvenile court. Training or experience in social or correctional administration, sociology, or psychology preferred. Probation officer, \$4,500-\$5,000; assistant probation officer, \$4,000-\$4,500. Write John S. Dierna, Chief Probation Officer, Lorain County Juvenile Court, 256 Third St., Elyria, Ohio.

Tulsa, Oklahoma

Assistant Probation Counselor, juvenile court. Bachelor of Arts degree in social

sciences required; 1 year of graduate training in a recognized school of social work plus 1 year of casework experience in a public or private agency, probation or parole, or vocational counseling and placement, preferred. A second year of graduate training in a school of social work may be substituted for the experience. Selection will be based on experience and training (50%) and oral examination (50%). Beginning salary, \$4,200. Send information on education and experience to Jay D. Olson, Juvenile Court of Tulsa County, 312 West Fifth St., Tulsa 3, Okla.

Seattle, Washington

Caseworkers (6), to serve as probation officers in juvenile court. M.S.W. preferred; minimum, 1 year of graduate training in social work plus 1 year casework experience. Good casework supervision, psychological and psychiatric consultation, in-service training, and excellent working conditions. Opportunity for community organization experience. Salary, \$4,560 to \$5,580; beginning salary, \$4,860 for qualified personnel. Write Martin Falsberg, Assistant Director, King County Juvenile Court, 1211 East Alder St., Seattle 22, Wash.

Milwaukee, Wisconsin

Probation Officers, in children's court (Examination No. 1447), family court (Examination No. 2140), municipal and district courts (Examination No. 1675). Minimum, 2 years graduate work in accredited school of social work (excluding thesis); master's degree in social work and 1 year paid experience in casework preferred. Qualified supervision provided; excellent working conditions. Salary, \$4,878.72 to \$5,713.56; maximum salary arrived at after 4 years. Credit may be given, up to the maximum pay and on a year-for-year basis, for acceptable previous social work experience. Write to Milwaukee County Civil Service Commission, Room 206, Courthouse, Milwaukee 3, Wise.

Book Reviews

Delinquency: The Juvenile Offender in America Today, Herbert A. Bloch and Frank T. Flynn. Pp. 612. New York, Random House, 1956, \$7.95.

Public interest in juvenile delinquency and its clear identification as a problem area in which applied social scientists seek to make a contribution have resulted in the establishment of large numbers of undergraduate and graduate college courses. These courses have, traditionally, given more attention to theories of causation and to the characteristics of delinquents than to agencies serving this field. Large course registrations have not necessarily facilitated recruitment for probation, institution work, police work with juveniles, or related activities. Present efforts to raise practitioner qualifications in all these fields, and to seek graduate social work training in several, might be aided by more emphasis on agency programs in standard delinquency courses, although this would hardly be enough to insure the needed volume. Happily, several of the recent and most popular texts, by authors with considerable practical experience as well as commitment to the field, have been produced from such orientations.

Delinquency: The Juvenile Offender in America Today joins this group. It was prepared collaboratively by Herbert A. Bloch, of Brooklyn College, a sociologist who knows programs from personal experience and who has contributed to the theory of social disorganization, and by the late Frank T. Flynn, of the University of Chicago, who, before his

recent untimely death, made a magnificent contribution to our field as administrator, researcher, teacher, and consultant. *Delinquency* easily takes its place as a standard text, along with the books by Tappan and by Teeters and Reinemann, introducing undergraduates to the field and launching the more intensive explorations of graduate students and professionals who will wish to follow some of the topics in more detail elsewhere.

Organized in accord with what seems, now, to have become the standard pattern for the texts of the past decade, the book begins by looking at the problems of defining delinquency and at statistical trends. Part II of the volume is devoted to causation (almost 200 pages) and Part III to treatment agencies, broadly defined (over 250 pages). There is a brief discussion of "prevention" in the final part. Its major contribution is contained in a discussion of treatment agencies which manages, in a relatively brief space, to present a comprehensive and up-to-date picture of police work with juveniles, detention, children's courts, probation, training schools, and court services for youthful offenders.

While they summarize available statistical data, the authors also discuss fully the difficulties of defining delinquency and the vulnerabilities of all current statistical systems. Future editions might well note the recent New York City police report of a "rise" in delinquency of over 41 per cent during a six-month period (reflecting new police activity and policy) and the subsequent Children's Court report of a large increase in the proportion of discharged cases.

Unfortunately, the clear logic and clear writing of the section on statistics is not maintained in several of the etiology chapters. This difficulty is not only one of language. The authors seek at one and the same time to make the case for a multidisciplinary approach and to give their readers a full review of research cast in terms of specialized theories. Thus, interposed between a discussion of the nature of causation, which is too long to make forceful the authors' point that "the level on which we intend to understand and the level on which we intend to operate" is all-important, and a summary of an integrated view, there is a detailed presentation of special material dealing with physical constitution, "bodily related factors," emotional pressures, and environmental concerns. The authors have mastered a tremendous wealth of research data and summarized it well. The lack of an inclusive personality theory is recorded as a major obstacle in research and treatment but the volume is inappropriately chosen for an original effort in this direction. Such an inclusive theory could hardly be satisfactorily explored under the circumstances of textbook authorship and will certainly not help beginning students.

With the treatment agency discussion, the volume returns to its clear style and appropriate level, and it maintains these. The student is given a full picture of the work of the police with children and an unusually comprehensive description and analysis of detention provisions. The several chapters on courts are balanced and take a middle-ground position on current issues. Adequate attention is given to generally neglected subjects—the nature of training for these services, why so few fully trained social workers are at present employed in courts, and

what are the immediate expectations in personnel. The authors offer practical immediate proposals and state professionally sound long-range goals. Employing the authors' formulations, students might very well begin study of some of the most difficult issues in our field.

There are several points which belong on the debit side, but they do not, even in sum, affect my basic enthusiasm for the volume. There is, first, the singling out of the so-called "Freudian School" for one brief attack, when the volume is full of arguments on the vulnerability of any *particularist*. (Is it true that "those of the Freudian School are apt to regard maladjustments as principally organically derived"?) Second, one wishes, in a volume devoted to the case for an integrated view and for adequate theory, that attention had been given to Lander's definitive attack (in *Towards an Understanding of Juvenile Delinquency*) on the products of an era of concentration on linear zero-order correlations. Data in several chapters would certainly serve as an excellent illustration. Also, should one not begin to tell students directly that we are confronted not by "delinquency" but by *delinquencies*? We make the point often, but never clinch it. And finally, how can we justify offering an excellent bibliography in a textbook while omitting the identity of the publishers of the books!

ALFRED J. KAHN

New York School of Social Work
Columbia University

Prediction Methods in Relation to Borstal Training, Dr. Hermann Mannheim and Leslie T. Wilkins. Pp. 276. London, Her Majesty's Stationery Office (New York,

British Information Services), 1955, 17s 6d (\$3.15 U. S.).

Prediction Methods in Relation to Borstal Training is "a report of the first criminological prediction study carried out in England," to quote a statement on the dust wrapper. The study was officially sponsored by and provided for in the Home Office budget "in accordance with powers given by the Criminal Justice Act of 1948" and had the full support of the Prison Commission, the Borstal Administration, the Borstal Division's Central After-care Association (parole), the Principal Probation Inspector, and all significantly related government personnel.

It was carried out by two distinguished professional researchers, Dr. Hermann Mannheim, well-known sociologist at the London School of Economics, and Mr. Leslie T. Wilkins, an experienced social statistician with the Social Survey Division of the Central Office of Information. Despite official sponsorship and financing, the Permanent Under-Secretary of State for the Home Department, Sir Frank Newsam, disclaims any government responsibility for the results: "The Home Office is not in any way committed to the findings in the report and . . . the authors take full responsibility for the report and for its conclusions."

The book begins with an excellent historical survey of previously published prediction studies, managing in twenty-seven pages to abstract and comment on about twenty-five of the more important American studies and on about ten European ones. The eight chapters after that include eighty-eight tables and four graphs, and there are eight appendices and an unusually complete index. Written in typical, somewhat formidable English Government Report style, this is nevertheless

an interesting as well as a valuable contribution to the field of prediction in criminology.

The project started with the 2,244 cases of males received into Borstal institutions from the courts from August 1, 1946 through July 31, 1947. Taking every third case in successive admissions, this gave a gross sample of 748 (all that it was thought the budget could stand); but twenty-five cases were rejected as not properly belonging in the study (due to death during the year, or to diagnosis and commitment as feeble-minded or as psychotic), leaving an actual sample of 723; then, finally, three cases were "lost" through typing or clerical errors, so the effective sample was 720 cases. This is the group on which many aspects of the completed study are based.

Only officially recorded information on each case was utilized for the study. It can thus be repeated by anyone from the same official records. A descriptive analysis of the 720 cases is presented through seventy-nine separate statistical tables, covering sixty items of information about each boy. "Success" was defined as "the absence of further conviction (other than simple fine) up to 31st August, 1951. This meant that the lads had on an average a testing period of 3½ years from release from the Institution." "Failure," of course, was defined as conviction within that period, with "degree of failure" determined by a weighting scheme that counted the number and kinds of instances of recidivism. The over-all success rate for the sample of 720 was 45 per cent. The eight "open" institutions, with 353 cases, had a success rate of 58 per cent; the five "closed" ones, with 309 cases, had a success rate of only 36 per cent. There were fifty-eight cases in which information was insufficient to determine whether commit-

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ment was to an "open" or "closed" institution, and in these cases the success rate was only 17 per cent. The difference in favor of the "open" institutions is interpreted as due primarily to correct diagnosis and selection after initial study of each case at the Reception Centers. In other words, the "open" institutions have been utilized intentionally for offenders with more favorable prognoses—these cases selected, evidently, with a considerable degree of success.

Prediction (or as Mannheim and Wilkins sometimes prefer, "experience") tables were worked out, but since the authors felt that they could use only those cases in which information was available on at least 80 per cent of the items considered, the sample was reduced from 720 to 385 cases. This restriction also biased the prediction sample in favor of success, since the 385 cases had an over-all success rate of 57.5 per cent as compared with only 45 per cent for the whole sample of 720 cases. In general, the authors follow the pattern of earlier prediction studies, especially the Gluecks', though they do introduce a number of technical statistical modifications that are of genuine interest and value but which can hardly be discussed seriously in a short review. Their final prediction, or "experience," table divides the group of 385 cases into five classes having success rates of, respectively, 87, 71, 50, 31, and 13 per cent.

The strength of the study lies in its "objective" procedure. No information except that in the official records was used. There were no subjective judgments of the meaning of records, as in the Gluecks' and most other studies. This study, therefore, can be readily replicated, or extended to practical application in routine treatment planning. Of special interest to American

administrators is the fact that this research was included in the budget set up by the Home Office. Official American correctional services will have to enlarge their mental horizons considerably before they achieve this degree of detached interest in a genuinely scientific approach to practical problems.

GEORGE B. VOLD

Department of Sociology
University of Minnesota

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Forecasting Juvenile Delinquency, William C. Kvaraceus. Pp. 43. Boston University Journal of Education, April, 1956, \$1.

In forty-three pages, William Kvaraceus (Professor of Education at Boston University and an active contributor in the field of juvenile delinquency and the education of exceptional children) reviews recent validation studies of the K(varaceus) D(elinquency) Proneness Scale and the KD Check List; he presents, in *Forecasting Juvenile Delinquency*, studies conducted by him or coming to his notice since the publication of the 1953 revision of his *Manual of Directions*.

There is a growing literature concerned with the identification of children who are vulnerable to the development of delinquent behavior patterns. The author's objective has been to devise two instruments which will screen off and identify the potentially delinquent youngster. To this end, he has devised (1) the KD Proneness Scale and (2) the KD Check List.

The scale consists of seventy-five multiple-choice items based on three major categories of central differences between delinquent and nondelinquent populations. Personal make-up, environmental factors (home and family backgrounds), and school experi-

ences are the three focal areas. Attitudes and opinions are recorded by the child when he checks one of the four responses, as illustrated in this question from the scale: "Failure in school is usually due to (a) bad companions, (b) lack of ability, (c) lack of hard work, (d) unfriendly teachers."

Each response has been subjected to an item analysis on the basis of ability to differentiate between the two groups at statistically significant levels. The alternative choices are scored "plus" (characterizing the delinquent) or "minus" (characterizing the nondelinquent) on the basis of the above findings. Separate analyses have been made for male and female populations and different scoring keys are used for each sex.

The validation studies of the Prone-ness Scale have used two major criterion groups: (1) legally adjudicated or official delinquents in contrast with nondelinquents; (2) "high morale" groups in contrast with "low morale" or bad behavior groups (not officially delinquent). There are actually four categories of subjects compared: adjudicated delinquents, poor school citizens, unselected samples of school children, and good school citizens.

One section reports on the use of the KD Scale in six studies of the "officially delinquent" group. One of these validation studies, considered by the author to be "the most searching," is a major piece of research based on a larger sample than Kvaraceus' original one.¹ The conclusion it presents is that the validity of the scale cannot now be fully corroborated, but that there is evidence of its predictive usefulness.

¹ Joseph K. Balogh and Charles J. Ramage, "The Kvaraceus KD Juvenile Delinquency Scale; a Methodological Study of the Predictive Factors Involved in Delinquency Proneness," Bowling Green, Ohio, 1955. Mimeo. report, 47 pages.

The element of statistical discrimination is clearly discernible in the "high morale" group, least so at the delinquency end of the continuum—a tendency which weakens the scale because it is counter to its primary purpose. These investigators conclude (as Kvaraceus does) that further studies are necessary before more effective differentiation between delinquents and nondelinquents can be made.

There are ten studies of "high morale" subjects, random school samples, and not legally delinquent but badly behaved groups; six of them are grouped under the rubric of miscellaneous minor studies. Summary tables combining the distribution of scores of all groups studied leads Kvaraceus to the conclusion that "The KD Prone-ness Scale has succeeded in differentiating somewhat between the criterion groups" (tables reveal a sizable difference in mean scores for delinquents as compared to high morale groups). The degree of overlapping, however, militates against mutually exclusive groupings even at the extremes of the high positive and high negative scores. The proportion of known delinquents who are "delinquency prone" on the scale ranged from a low of 41 per cent to a high of only 68 per cent in the tabulated studies. This suggests that the optimum efficiency of the scale as now constituted is hardly better than chance. The scale is consistently better on prediction of nondelinquency (71 to 91 per cent in unselected school samples).

Only three studies using the KD Check List have been reported. This instrument is based upon the differences found by major research studies between delinquent and nondelinquent children. Seventy items, classified under the same three major headings as the KD Scale, are presented to an

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appraiser who presumably has a thorough knowledge of the child and his environment. Those who show a concentration of vulnerable factors are to be screened off for more careful study. The two instruments are said to be supplementary. Among 130 known delinquents, at least ten of the seventy items were checked off in all cases. This is in sharp contrast with the findings in an unselected school population, where only 8 per cent of the 868 boys and girls showed ten or more items checked off. Not enough has been done with the KD Check List, however, to indicate its potential as a predictive instrument.

It should be noted that more than 95 per cent of the reported 3,711 children studied by these two instruments were twelve years of age or older at the time of testing. The test has been devised primarily for children in the sixth grade and above. This in itself provides a serious limitation for a predictive device which should be expected to serve as a screening device for the early identification of potential delinquents. Studies of the age factor in delinquency indicate that up to 45 per cent of adjudicated delinquents have manifested predelinquent or delinquent behavior before the age of twelve. Furthermore, the KD Prone-ness Scale has a reading level which limits its usefulness for the younger age groups as well as for poor readers.

In *Forecasting Juvenile Delinquency*, Kvaraceus has presented a series of validation studies and pointed out, without bias, the favorable and unfavorable implications for his work. He has conscientiously outlined the main limitations in his approach and foresees the need for the construction of a scale with more discriminating items and score values. He devotes a short final section to a discussion of some of the methodological problems of predic-

tion studies in this field. In this self-critical evaluation, the author has made an important contribution to the quantitative approach to the prediction of juvenile delinquency. We are in complete accord with his premise that such instrumentalities are a prerequisite in community planning for the early identification, treatment, and control of juvenile offenders.

RALPH W. WHELAN
New York City Youth Board

•
Defense Investigation, Edward N. Bliss. Pp. 281. Springfield, Ill., Charles C Thomas, 1956, \$6.50.

Edward N. Bliss, a bakery salesman in search of a permanent career during the Great Depression of the early thirties, turned his spare time to the study of criminal investigation. For the most part self-taught, he reveals in *Defense Investigation* his own metamorphosis: from amateur crime investigator to volunteer investigator for the Public Defender of Los Angeles County, California, "for free," as he puts it; then, to a paid job as special agent for the local transit company, to senior security specialist for an oil company in Saudi Arabia and, finally, in September, 1946, to the newly created official position of paid Investigator for the Public Defender, a position he still holds today.

Although the office of public defender is still a unique concept in the field of government, it has long since passed the experimental stage in Los Angeles, where the first office was created in 1914. Even there it was thirty-two years before the Board of Supervisors included the position of a paid Investigator for the Public Defender in its annual budget. During the intervening years, the board, observes

the author, "couldn't see any sense in hiring an investigator to apprehend the suspect and then hire another one to get him out . . . but then, of course, the same opposition was experienced when the idea of a Public Defender first came to light many years ago."

Although *Defense Investigation* is primarily a manual of procedures and techniques of criminal investigation, it provides much food for thought for the socially minded reader. The situation of the indigent defendant accused of crime is sharply pointed up by the following:

For example, in Los Angeles County, there are forty-five different police departments with their detective personnel, plus the sheriff's office, the special agents for all the public utilities, and all the other law enforcement agencies. The District Attorney's office has a large staff of investigators. Facing this veritable army of highly trained law enforcement personnel are five investigators for the Public Defender.

One cannot help but reflect upon the plight of thousands of indigent defendants throughout the United States, some of whom at least are innocent of the crimes charged, as they face the same sort of array of law enforcement agencies and officers without the benefit of paid public defenders, to say nothing of skilled defense investigators. Their treatment must often outrage the spirit of the Sixth Amendment, which guarantees the accused a fair trial and the assistance of counsel for his defense. In this respect—defending the indigent accused of crime—we have made too little progress toward achieving the enlightened society which our founding fathers envisaged.

As the title of this book indicates, it is slanted toward the special problems and techniques of the defense investigator. When you get right down to case

studies, which take up three-fourths of this volume, it is at once apparent that there is little difference between the methods employed by investigators for the prosecution and defense investigators. The same know-how in getting at the facts is needed regardless of which side of the fence the investigator finds himself on. For that reason this book should prove an invaluable aid to anyone interested in the field of criminal investigation.

The case studies run the gamut of the whole field of crime: murder, manslaughter, assault with a deadly weapon, sex offenses, burglary, grand theft, arson, robbery, kidnapping, forgery, and narcotics. Most of the discussion of these studies, of course, is devoted to investigation. These well-selected cases bring home with singular force the object lesson that it is always that extra turn of the screw that marks the difference between the really brilliant investigation and the mediocre one. Since a man's life often hangs in the balance, the difference, both in criminal investigation for the indigent defendant and in his defense by adequate counsel, may be a matter of life and death.

JACOB K. JAVITS

United States Senate

Psychiatry and the Law, Paul H. Hoch, M.D. and Joseph Zubin, Ph.D., eds. Pp. 232. New York, Grune and Stratton, 1955, \$5.50.

Psychiatry and the Law presents a series of important papers given by jurists, psychiatrists, and penologists, each attempting to bridge the gap between dynamic psychiatry and codified law. The papers constitute the proceedings of the forty-third annual meeting of the American Psychopatho-

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logical Association, held in New York City in June, 1953, which was devoted to an exploration of the conjunction between these two fields.

In the opening paper, George H. Dession considers the problems of deviation and community sanctions and differing value orientations that often obtain between psychiatrists and community decision makers.

Harold Lasswell's paper on "Legislative Policy, Conformity and Psychiatry" discusses the differing frames of reference of the psychiatrist (who considers the disordered individual more than the destructive social situation) and others (who emphasize the social situation). He stresses the need for integration of complementary data by specialists in other behavioral sciences, "to provide legislators with the results of a self-surveying process that would put the case studies of the psychiatrist in the perspective of the situational chain characteristic of the whole society and to provide a provisional map of the future of alternative policies for dealing with offenders."

Lawrence Z. Freedman's excellent paper on "Conformity and Nonconformity" states the thesis that nonconformity is a consistent characteristic of human society, and advises caution in imposing conformity of goals and values while we are still investigating man's behavior.

Chief Magistrate John M. Murtagh's paper on "Psychiatry and the Magistrates' Courts" in New York City makes a strong plea for greater use of psychiatry in the framework of criminal jurisprudence.

"Criminal Responsibility: The Quest for a Formula," by Dr. Henry A. Davidson, considers the M'Naghten Rule all-important: "If we fashion a responsibility formula that ignores this, we do so at the risk of terminating our

usefulness in this field and thus of injuring the sick people we are sworn to protect."

Dr. Manfred S. Guttmacher presents data from the medical office of the Supreme Bench of Baltimore on "Criminal Responsibility in Certain Homicide Cases Involving Family Members." After reviewing these cases, he concludes that, first of all, criminal courts should whenever possible have psychiatric clinics attached to them; that, secondly, the M'Naghten formula should be replaced by rules realistically recognizing medical entities, and that the responsibility of decision is not medical but legal and should rest squarely in the court; thirdly, rules of evidence should allow presentation of psychiatric testimony in a way which permits the whole truth to be presented; and, finally, that recognition should be given to the existence of diminished responsibility as long as the principle of full accountability to society is recognized and as long as the community is safeguarded by the indeterminate sentence.

Other papers included in this excellent volume are "The Psychiatric Examination of Prisoners in Massachusetts," by Dr. Bardwell H. Flower; "Criminal Responsibility," by Dr. Philip Q. Roche; "The Defense of Insanity in Criminal Cases," by Judge Hyman Barshay; "Psychiatry in the Correctional Process," by Alfred R. Loos; "Psychiatry and Human Values," by Dr. John C. Whitehorn; "Psychodynamic Patterns in the Sex Offender," by Emanuel F. Hammer and Dr. Bernard C. Glueck, Jr.; "Pseudopsychopathic Schizophrenia," by Dr. Samuel L. Dunaif and Dr. Paul H. Hoch; and, finally, a paper by Samuel Polsky on "Applications and Limits of Diminished Responsibility as a Legal and Medical Concept."

These thoughtful and provocative papers on psychiatry and the law are breaking new ground for a new age of progressive and humanitarian consideration of man living under law.

S. BERNARD WORTIS, M.D.
New York City

Social Case-Work in Great Britain, Cherry Morris, ed. Pp. 231. New York, Whiteside, Inc., and William Morrow & Company, 1955, \$4.00.

Social Case-Work in Great Britain, edited by Cherry Morris, first appeared in 1950 and then again in 1955. At its first appearance, the Labour Government's post-war social services program was two years old (it was on July 5, 1948 that the statutes took effect), and an inventory of the place of social casework in the voluntary and statutory services was very much in order—a task which Miss Morris undertook. It is this reviewer's opinion that she did it quite acceptably.

But one must ask what happened in the intervening years—either in casework theory or practice—to justify, in 1955, a reappearance of *Social Case-Work in Great Britain*. Apparently there was confusion in the mind of the editor as to whether the 1955 volume is a second edition or a reprinting. This is reflected in the preface, where it is remarked that there has not been any drastic change of thought or any break with the past and that the book "has been reprinted with only slight additions and alterations, though with an added list of some of the relevant publications issued since 1949." This reviewer has examined the 1950 and 1955 editions and has decided there is not sufficient modification of substance to warrant review of a new edition.

Accordingly, he restricts this review to certain comments on slight changes and refers the reader to critical reviews of the 1950 publication.

Social workers from America who visit Great Britain are struck with the extent of the British social services offered under statutory—i.e., public welfare—auspices. It does not take long, however, for the visitor to discover that there is a valid place for the voluntary, private social services, and that, furthermore, both statutory and voluntary social services have long and honorable—yes, honorable, despite the Poor Law—lineage. Upon closer examination it becomes quite clear that social casework is not the especial province of either method of organization. One has but to familiarize oneself with the operation of services offered to children to realize that the use and quality of casework services does not hinge on whether the bill is paid out of government tax or private funds. The work of the Children's Officer of the Local Authority (roughly our local director of child welfare) and his staff is as characterized by quality of casework service as is the work of voluntary agencies, whether institutional or noninstitutional, although most services for the offender, the physically ill, the mentally ill, the child in school, and the aged are supported by tax funds.

Miss Morris' 1950 and 1955 volumes are valuable in helping the student or worker in other countries understand casework services in Britain. However, the changes in the 1955 volume are so slight in relation to the total content that either volume will be equally useful. In the first six chapters, for instance, minor word changes and an occasional new or reworded sentence are the only additions. It is in Chapters Seven and Eight that there is more than a casual rewording. The former

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shows that the use of social casework in what the British term moral welfare is a far more enterprising and less self-conscious experience in Great Britain than is or can be true in this country; it would be useful for some workers to look with open minds on developments of this kind in another country. The chapter on child care also bears careful study. The 1955 volume has incorporated a discerning examination of experience under the Children's Act of 1948 which has much of value in it for the American student. The last chapter, written by Eileen Younghusband, bears essentially on social work education in Great Britain and is an extremely useful statement for social work educators as well as practitioners in this country.

As the American student of social work history knows, the British experience with the social services antedates ours. Likewise the student knows that until quite recently there has been an absorbing interest in this country in social services under voluntary auspices and to a large degree an absorption in the increasing refinements of case-work techniques. Cherry Morris' *Social Case-Work in Great Britain*, 1950 or 1955, will help the reader achieve a balanced view in the realization, first, that another country has developed its programs and techniques according to the requirements of its people and their culture, and second, that those programs and services have utility not only for the people for whom they were developed, but also for us in America who have gone about our affairs somewhat differently. There is much that we can learn from each other's experience, provided we are perceptive, understanding, and flexible in approach.

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Hue & Cry, Patrick Pringle. Pp. 230. New York, William Morrow & Company, 1956, \$4.00.

Our contemporary system of criminal justice and law enforcement, though scarcely an Elysium, is certainly a model of perfection in comparison with eighteenth century London. That much—and more—is the meditative afterglow left by Patrick Pringle's *Hue and Cry*, an utterly delightful and unblushing chronicle of the Bow Street Runners of London.

We twentieth century witnesses to the system's functioning are aware that it is, to say the least, imperfect; it scandalizes not only the idealist but also the pragmatist, not only the sensitive but even the hard-bitten. But we intimates to the American correctional scene (on occasion unhappy, even shocked, by much reckless disregard for the rights and welfare of offenders in the manner of their arrest, trial, and punishment) have been served up a tonic for our disturbed souls in Pringle's book. At least we never had it so bad!

It was a motley crew of corrupt rascals that overwhelmed London in the 1700's. Britain not only had "the most criminals; it also had the harshest Criminal Code," Pringle points out. Crime had become fashionable; abiding by the law was out of fashion. Capital punishment was common for the most trivial offenses. For example, a boy of seven could be sentenced to death for stealing a pocket handkerchief; a girl of fourteen was actually sentenced to be burnt alive for "hiding white-washed farthings." By 1818 the number of capital offenses had risen to 223 in Britain although in France, in that same year, the total number of offenses thus punishable had been reduced to six. "Yet, compared with London,

Paris was a law-abiding town," Pringle records. The death penalty was imposed in England for so many relatively trivial misdemeanors because few alternative forms of punishment were then in vogue.

Pringle's rationale for the dramatic difference, unlike his description, invites disagreement. He attributes Paris' low crime rate to the fact that the city had a professional police force, while London had available no paid police at all until 1753, relying chiefly on the medieval, amateur constable system until the Metropolitan Police force was established in 1829. Had Pringle looked beyond the historical and taken an analytic view, he might have seen that this explanation ignores the fact that despite the conceded excellence of New York City's police force (one that has been dubbed the "finest"), that city nevertheless has one of the highest known crime rates in the civilized world.

There is, to be sure, some limited relationship between the deterrence of crime and the certainty of apprehension and, possibly, of punishment as well. But the relationship has been grossly exaggerated; an even greater influence on individual behavior is exerted by the economic-social-psychological milieu, in cruel conspiracy. Once we understand that the threat of punishment cannot play a significant role in the life of persons whose actions are determined by this milieu, we will not talk of free will. Our attitudes and (hopefully) our programs in crime prevention can then take a new turn.

But *Hue & Cry* reveals so much of crime in eighteenth century London that this difference is not apropos in a short review. The account of degrading corruption to which the English judiciary had descended, of how the custom of rewarding "informers"

plunged London into uncontrollable licentiousness, is fascinating. (It by no means followed that if an accused was convicted of a felony and sentenced to death, the sentence would always be carried out. Judges had the power to grant a respite and to recommend offenders to the King's mercy; pardons were frequent—although they did not always result in release. The American colonies received many such felons as a consequence of "transportation"; after the American Revolution, they were transported to Australia.)

Into the midst of what the *London Magazine*, with characteristic British understatement, reported as the country's "great pitch of insolence" (burglary, highway robbery, rape, murder, and other crimes of violence were the order of the day) there was thrust a figure whom Bernard Shaw described as "the greatest practicing dramatist, with the single exception of Shakespeare, produced by England between the Middle Ages and the Nineteenth Century." His name was Henry Fielding; Sir Walter Scott called him "the father of the English novel." Henry Fielding was also the father of London's professional police force; it is to his vision, energy, and persistence in attacking the foul infection of London that Pringle has really devoted his book.

One wonders why an artist whom Shaw and Scott described in such glowing terms would leap from the ivory tower of letters to the base level of policing the streets. And how could he—as he did—succeed equally in both? Pringle finds the answer in Fielding's plays: his satiric comedies and farces display his weapons—caustic wit and ridicule, sincere and stubborn advocacy of behavioral reform. His difficulty, encountered by reform-

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ers then as now, is that they displease politicians who often have it in their power to frustrate the fortunes of their severest critics. Fielding suffered such a fate; when he lampooned the Prime Minister of England, the latter denounced Fielding as an "impudent fellow." That spelled the end of Fielding's career as a dramatist, for, as Fielding realized, after the Licensing Act was enacted, the Lord Chamberlain would not license any of his plays for production.

Fielding, being human, had to eat; he read for the Bar; "but as a lawyer he was not a success . . . due to a combination of several things: his late start, his many enemies in high places, his honesty and his extravagance." In 1748, almost penniless, he sought a job. Nothing more unflattering to Fielding's gifts could have been imagined, but he was tendered the Commissionership of the Peace for Westminster. He accepted eagerly.

Fielding attacked his new, almost insuperable tasks with great vigor. He organized the Bow Street Runners, who were paid, by the head, to bring in London's culprits for prosecution. These professional "thief-takers" were considered "lower than informers" but the profession was a financially rewarding one, and as London was then infested with thieves, the Runners prospered. His "staff" proliferated; his own rectitude and strength of purpose rubbed off on his colleagues, and

they, in turn, were filled with pride as his associates in the crusade against crime. Their motivations were obviously less altruistic than Fielding's but London eventually became the beneficiary of their enlightened selfishness. Fielding thought of his force as "preventive police," and Pringle believes that Fielding demonstrated to England and to the world that "it was possible for a state to have an efficient police force without becoming a police state."

The author has not neglected the police activities of John Fielding, Henry's half-brother.

Hue & Cry is a valuable contribution to that segment of criminological literature which records the development of the police branch of criminal justice. Pringle has written of London's unenlightened dark era most penetratingly and with a delicious sense of humor. Londoners of Fielding's day were crass and crude; we, on the other hand, have succeeded in applying a thin veneer of civilization over our punitive impulses, hoping thereby to disguise them even against our own discovery. This reviewer trusts that the historian writing in the twenty-second century will be able to find as much that is amusing in the absurd criminological antics that we now practice.

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Quotes from New Books

This Primitive Aggressiveness

From The Urge to Punish, by Henry Weihofen, published by Farrar, Straus and Cudahy, New York:

Eminent jurists have told us that we must be careful to heed and respect this public demand for punitive "justice." Public "qualms at the prospect of a softening of retribution," we are told, "deserve attention, and should, so far as is compatible with advance rather than regression in the penal field, be relieved." "The first requirement of a sound body of law," said Mr. Justice Holmes, "is that it should correspond with the actual feelings and demands of the community, whether right or wrong." Perhaps the strongest such statement is the famous remark of Sir James Stephen, who said: "I think it highly desirable that criminals should be hated, that the punishment inflicted on them should be so contrived as to give expression to that hatred, and to justify it so far as the public provision of means for expressing and gratifying a healthy natural sentiment can justify and encourage it."

But let us take a look at this "instinctive sense of justice" the public is supposed to feel so keenly, and that we are so anxious to mollify. "Justice" is a noble word, and the use of it implies we have here a noble sentiment.

Psychiatrists have been holding up the mirror to this sentiment, and the picture they see is not so pretty. The urge to punish wrongdoers is not always an impersonal demand that the law keep its promises. Often it is an outlet for our own antisocial aggres-

siveness which we have more or less effectively but guiltily repressed. "It is a weapon in our own struggle against trends and drives which we do not admit to consciousness. We should be continuously aware that overassertion of a prosecuting, punishing attitude toward law breakers reveals the intensity of our inner struggle and the instability of our own emotional equilibrium." "Distrust," says Nietzsche, "all in whom the impulse to punish is strong." No one is more ferocious in demanding that the murderer or rapist "pay" for his crime than the man who has felt strong impulses in the same direction. No one is more bitter in condemning the "loose" woman than the "good" women who have on occasion guiltily enjoyed some purple dreams themselves. It is never he who is without sin who casts the first stone . . .

As for Stephen's notion that hatred of criminals is a "healthy natural sentiment" that should be encouraged, we may concede that it is natural, human nature being something less than Christlike, but modern psychology would hardly call it healthy. Hatred is not health. It is a poison. It will cripple and even kill the individual or the society that feeds on it. The function of law is to hold the brute forces of hate and vindictiveness in check—not to encourage them. The history of law is the story of the slow—painfully slow—steps by which society, one short step at a time, restricted this and that manifestation of these forces. They yielded each step only slowly and after long and stubborn opposition. If we open the door to them, it will be hard to close again . . .

And it seems to me an abdication of the leadership that the public has a right to expect of the legal profession abjectly to accept this primitive aggressiveness as inevitable and unchangeable.

The Shape of the Offender's Neck

From A Life for a Life? The Problem of Capital Punishment, by Sir Ernest Gowers, published by Chatto and Windus, London:

In 1886 a Committee was appointed to inquire into the way in which executions were carried out and the causes which in several recent cases had either led to failure or to unseemly occurrences and to make recommendations how they might be avoided. Present practice is based on the Report of that Committee. The essentials for success are a thickish rope, a knot precisely placed under the left ear, and a length of drop adjusted to the weight of the prisoner. Since these precautions were taken, there is no record in the Home Office of any failure or mishap in connection with an execution, and in the opinion of that Department execution by hanging, as now carried out, can be regarded as speedy and certain. But among murderers condemned to death there are occasionally some whose physical condition makes it undesirable that the execution should take place because it could not be done in a seemly manner, or "because some scandalous thing might happen—a person's head might come off because the jaw was shot away or some other gruesome development might happen which would shock public opinion rather than show that the law has been vindicated." In such cases the prisoner must be re-

prieved, for it is illegal to carry out an execution in any other way. They are less rare than might be expected: in 1949 there had been five in the preceding fifteen years. A future student of the strange customs of the natives of Britain in the twentieth century will find few that will seem to him more quaint than that the decision between the death penalty and a less severe punishment should sometimes have depended not on the gravity of the offense but on the shape of the offender's neck.

Living Dead Men in Our Midst

From Skid Row, U.S.A., by Sara Harris, published by Doubleday, Garden City, New York:

There are about 1500 gospel or rescue missionaries along Skid Row, U.S.A. They believe, as Alcoholics Anonymous leaders do, that derelict Rowers cannot help themselves except through reliance on a Higher Power. They specify the power as "the saving grace of Jesus Christ" and work to provide Rowers with free beds and meals and washing facilities and clothes in His name. Some who have charge of the larger missions claim to distribute as many as 400,000 free meals and to furnish as many as 65,000 free beds in a typical year. And they say that, although the vast number of men whom they contact use their missions for free flopping and eating, an appreciable number, as many as 800 a year, are brought to "new lives in Christ" through contact with them and their institutions . . .

But what about the vast mass of Skid Rowers who just do not have the stuff of which mission miracles may be made? For every man on the Row

who has been saved by a mission miracle, there are thousands who haven't been touched and who never can be. Year after year they go on following the grim, hopeless shuttle between jail and their Skid Row homes. Skid Row policemen, called "ragpickers," hale them into court for vagrancy or disorderly conduct over and over again.

The court story, with rare exceptions, is the same from coast to coast. The Skid Row bunch lines up before the bar, filthy, disheveled, some with the look and smell of last night's nausea still on them. Their names are called and they are advised of their rights to secure legal counsel and to have trial postponed. Then they are asked to plead guilty or not guilty to a charge of disorderly conduct or vagrancy. Most of them plead guilty. They do it like sheep, bleating the same words out one after another. "Guilty, your honor." Some of them don't even bother to lift their heads as they mutter the words. The judges know most of the faces appearing before them because there are bound to be more old-timers than newcomers, men with

records of thirty-six, eighty-four, and two hundred arrests.

Many judges and policemen, embarrassed over their ineffectuality, are callous toward Rowers. They do their jobs routinely, the "ragpickers" bringing the men in and the judges handing out the same sentences they gave last time. They come out from under the routine only occasionally, and when they do it is usually in response to public pressure . . .

Actually, we cannot afford to keep closing our eyes to Skid Row, U.S.A. Not only because the American conscience should not tolerate hundreds of thousands of living dead men in our midst but also because the place is a menace as well as a shame. Rowers refuse to remain relegated, as some of the municipal fathers would have them do, to their own parts of town. They come into the respectable parts of every city and bring their ills and miseries with them.

The world of Skid Row, U.S.A., cannot be ignored because, strange and twisted and beyond our comprehension though it is, it is still right around the corner from us.

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